

SEMANTICS, WORLD VIEW AND BIBLE TRANSLATION:

AN INTEGRATED ANALYSIS

OF A SELECTION OF HEBREW LEXICAL ITEMS

REFERRING TO NEGATIVE MORAL BEHAVIOUR

IN THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

by

Gerrit Jan van Steenberg



DISSERTATION

presented for the degree of

DOCTOR OF LITERATURE
in Ancient Near Eastern Studies

at the University of Stellenbosch

Promoter: Prof. C.H.J. van der Merwe

Date submitted: October 2002

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted to any university for a degree.

Summary

Thus far the study of semantics has been determined to a large extent by the linguistic perspective from which the researcher approached the subject. This has often led to imbalanced results, reflecting prejudice in one direction or the other. Certain aspects that are crucial for semantic description are thereby overlooked, simplified, or not considered at all. Given the complicated nature of semantics as an interdisciplinary science in which linguistics, anthropology, cognitive psychology, and, depending on the purpose for which semantic analysis is carried out, other fields of study play a part there is an obvious need for a more comprehensive approach that allows for a wide variety of factors to be taken into consideration.

In the area of semantic analysis of Biblical Hebrew the cultural environment from which lexical items emanate forms an essential and integrated part of the semantic contents of these lexical items. In view of the significant historical and cultural differences that exist between the context(s) of the Old Testament and the context(s) of today's readers it is necessary to consider the cultural element in semantics seriously. This is certainly true for Bible translation which by its very nature is a cross-cultural activity.

In Bible translation there is need for an analytical tool that combines the above-mentioned elements in such a way that all aspects of semantic contents of lexical items are weighed. In this study an attempt is made to develop such a comprehensive approach. The starting point for the study is the theory of componential analysis of meaning. The history and development of this theory is discussed and evaluated. Possibilities for further development of componential analysis of meaning as a heuristic tool for semantic analysis are considered. This requires a more flexible approach than has been practiced thus far. Componential analysis of meaning should not be automatically associated with its structuralist origins, but should be used as a flexible tool with a large variety of representational formats that can be used beyond the level of describing dichotomous relationships, incorporating insights from the area of cognitive linguistics. Furthermore it is argued that the concept of universals that forms an important theoretical foundation for lexical semantics is of limited value for cross-cultural communication. The possible universals are of such a general and unspecific nature that they do not make an essential contribution to semantic description. To the extent possible criteria for semantic analysis should therefore be language- and culture-specific, emanating from the source language and culture, not imposed by the researcher and his or her theoretical inclination.

In order to ensure cultural validity of semantic analysis there is need to analyze the world view system from which lexical items emanate, so that the way a lexical item is embedded in culture and world view can be included in the semantic analysis. In this study a flexible world view analysis tool is developed based on certain world view variables that make it possible to identify the typical world view structure that underlies a culture. The study seeks to combine this world view analysis method with the heuristic tool of componential analysis of meaning and uses the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah as a case study. The underlying world view of the book of Isaiah is described, after which a semantic analysis of the lexical items takes place. The analysis is complemented by recommendations for Hebrew lexicography.

Opsomming

Tot op hede is die studie van die semantiek tot 'n groot mate bēinvloed deur die taalkundige perspektief van die navorser. Dit het dikwels gelei tot resultate wat skeefgetrek is deur die voorveronderstellings van die navorser. Sommige aspekte van betekenis wat van primêre belang is vir die semantiese beskrywing van bepaalde taalkundige konstruksies is in die proses nie genoegsaam, of glad nie, aan die orde gestel nie. Semantiek as 'n interdisiplinêre wetenskap het 'n komplekse karakter aangesien taalkunde, antropologie, kognitiewe sielkunde en, afhangend van die doel van 'n bepaalde semantiese analise, ander verwante dissiplines daarin 'n rol kan speel. Om die rede is daar 'n behoefte aan 'n omvattende benadering in terme waarvan die verskillende faktore verreken kan word.

In die semantiese analise van Bybel-Hebreeuse konstruksies vorm die kulturele agtergrond van leksikale items 'n integrale deel van die semantiese inhoud van hierdie items. In die lig van die beduidende historiese en kulturele verskille tussen die konteks(te) van die Ou Testament en die konteks(te) van hedendaagse lesers is dit dus belangrik om die kulturele dimensie van 'n semantiese analise van Bybels-Hebreeuse leksikale items sistematies aan die orde te stel. So 'n benadering is van groot belang vir Bybelvertaling wat by uitstek 'n proses van interkulturele kommunikasie is.

Bybelvertalers het 'n behoefte aan analitiese instrumente wat al die fasette van die semantiese inhoud van Bybels-Hebreeuse lekseme verdiskonteer. Die doel van hierdie studie is om 'n semantiese model te ontwerp wat vir die doel gebruik kan word. Die vertrekpunt van die studie is die teorie van komponensiële analise. Die geskiedenis en ontwikkeling van die model word krities bespreek. Die moontlikhede wat hierdie teorie bied vir 'n meer omvattende model word ondersoek. Besondere aandag word gegee aan die nut wat hierdie benadering het as heuristiese instrument vir die semantiese analyses. Die komponensiële analise van betekenis word op hierdie manier geïdentifiseer as 'n benadering wat nie te gou afgeskiet moet word as synde te eng strukturalisties nie. Intendeel, dit kan ook as 'n buigsame instrument ontwikkel word wat nie net betekenisrelasies in terme van dichotomieë kan beskryf nie. Dit kan ook gebruik word om 'n wye verskeidenheid semantiese verhoudings te analiseer wat insigte van die kognitiewe taalkunde insluit. Daar is verder bevind dat die konsep "semantiese universalium" wat 'n belangrike komponent is van sommige benaderings tot leksikale semantiek weinig waarde het vir 'n semantiese analise wat 'n bydrae wil maak tot vertaling as interkulturele kommunikasie. Die universele kategorieë is meestal so generies dat hulle weinig bydrae tot die beskrywing van die fyner nuanses van lekseme wat tot dieselfde semantiese veld behoort. Daar moet eerder gepoog word om in soverre dit moontlik is 'n instrument te ontwikkel wat taal en kultuur spesifiek is. Die kategorieë en kriteria vir die semantiese analise moet verder aan die hand van die brontaal en – kultuur self ontwikkel word. Die navorser moet baie versigtig wees dat sy of haar eie teoretiese voorveronderstellings nie op die ondersoek-instrument afgedruk word nie.

In die ondersoek is gevind dat die kulturele dimensie van die leksikale items nie genoegsaam verreken kan word, sonder om die wêreldbeeld te analiseer wat ten grondslag lê van die tekste waarin die leksikale items voorkom nie. Vir die doel is 'n analitiese model ontwikkel. Hierdie buigsame model gebruik 'n stel veranderlikes om die tipiese wêreldbeeld te identifiseer wat ten grondslag lê van 'n bepaalde korpus van tekste. Nadat die onderliggende wêreldbeeld van die boek van Jesaja beskryf is, word die leksikale items in hierdie boek, wat behoort tot die semantiese veld "negatiewe morele gedrag" geanaliseer. Op grond van die resultate word 'n aantal aanbevelings gemaak oor die wyse waarop hierdie items in 'n Hebreeuse leksikon beskryf kan word.

Table of contents

<i>Declaration</i>	ii
<i>Summary</i>	iii
<i>Opsomming</i>	iv
<i>Table of contents</i>	v
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>List of figures</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
 Chapter 1 – INTRODUCTION	 1
1. Introduction	1
2. Problem statement and focus	1
3. Preliminary study	2
4. Goals	3
5. Theoretical points of departure	3
6. Hypotheses	4
7. Research issues	4
8. Methodology and outline	4
 Chapter 2 – COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS	 6
1. Introduction	6
2. Componential analysis	7
2.1. Theoretical background	7
2.2. Theoretical development	9
2.2.1. Introduction	9
2.2.2. The theoretical basis of componential analysis of meaning	10
2.2.3. CA and Bible translation	12
2.2.3.1. CA and translation theory	13
2.2.3.2. CA and lexicons	15
2.2.4. Recent developments in CA	17
2.2.4.1. Introduction	17
2.2.4.2. Improving and extending the categories of CA	17
2.2.4.3. New areas	18
2.3. CA and universals	19
2.3.1. Introduction	19
2.3.2. The assumption of universals	19
2.3.3. Universals in CA	21
2.4. Structuralism, pragmatics, cognitive linguistics and CA	23
2.4.1. Introduction	23
2.4.2. CA and structuralism	23
2.4.3. CA and pragmatics	24
2.4.4. CA and cognitive linguistics	25
2.5. Problems in CA	27
2.5.1. Introduction	27
2.5.2. Criticism in the literature	27
2.5.3. Implications	28
3. Recent linguistic developments in CA	30
3.1. Conceptual semantics	31
3.2. Cognitive linguistics and categorization	32
3.2.1. Introduction	32

3.2.2. Categorization	33
3.2.3. Other types of categorization	35
3.2.3.1. Schema	35
3.2.3.2. Frame	36
3.2.3.3. Perspective	37
3.3. Conclusions	38
4. Prospects of CA in the light of cognitive linguistic theory	39
4.1. Introduction	39
4.2. CA as a tool	39
4.3. The application of CA as a tool	41
Chapter 3 – WORLD VIEW	43
1. Introduction	43
2. World view: A theoretical framework	46
2.1 Introduction	46
2.2. Overview of existing literature	46
2.3. A world view theory	50
2.3.1. The problem of universals	50
2.3.2. World view variables	51
2.3.2.1. <i>Classification</i>	51
2.3.2.2. <i>Self and Other</i>	52
2.3.2.3. <i>Relationship</i>	52
2.3.2.4. <i>Causality</i>	52
2.3.2.5. <i>Time</i>	52
2.3.2.6. <i>Space</i>	52
2.3.3. Integration and adaptation of world view variables	53
2.3.4. Language and world view	56
2.3.4.1. Introduction	56
2.3.4.2. Linguistics and world view	56
2.3.4.3. Cognitive linguistics and world view	57
2.3.4.4. Semantics and world view	60
Chapter 4 – WORLD VIEW IN THE BOOK OF ISAIAH	62
1. Introduction	62
2. The book of Isaiah	62
2.1. The original words of the prophet	64
2.2. The unity of the book	65
3. World view and the book of Isaiah	67
3.1. The book of Isaiah and the Ancient Near East	67
3.2. The book of Isaiah and the world view of the people	69
3.3. Points of departure and delimitation	70
3.4. World view variables in the book of Isaiah	72
3.4.1. <i>Causality</i> in the book of Isaiah	72
3.4.2. <i>Self and Other</i> in the book of Isaiah	80
3.4.2.1. Personal pronouns	81
3.4.2.2. Conclusions on personal pronouns	83
3.4.2.3. Community and identity	83
3.4.2.4. Conclusions <i>Self-Other</i>	87
3.4.3. <i>Space</i> in the book of Isaiah	88
3.4.3.1. Horizontal <i>Space</i>	88
3.4.3.2. Vertical <i>Space</i>	91

3.4.4. <i>Time</i> in the book of Isaiah	92
3.4.4.1. Cyclic time	93
3.4.4.2. Linear time	95
3.4.4.3. Conclusions <i>Time</i>	96
3.4.5. <i>Classification</i> in the book of Isaiah	96
3.4.5.1. Dichotomies	97
3.4.5.2. Generic—specific	98
3.4.6. <i>Relationship</i> in the book of Isaiah	99
3.5. Summary world view variables in the book of Isaiah	100
Chapter 5 – NEGATIVE MORAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE WORLD VIEW OF ISAAH	103
1. Introduction	103
2. Defining the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour	104
2.1. Parallelism	104
2.1.1. Parallelism and semantics	105
2.1.2. Parallelism and word pairs	107
2.1.3. Parallelism and intensification	108
2.1.4. Parallelism and contrast	111
2.1.5. Parallelism and categorization	112
2.2. Semantic analysis of the lexical items in semantic parallelism	112
2.2.1. חטא	112
2.2.2. עון	114
2.2.3. פשע	114
2.2.4. און	114
2.2.5. רעע	115
2.2.6. רשע	116
2.2.7. Other generic lexical items	117
2.2.7.1. חנף	117
2.2.7.2. עמל	117
2.2.7.3. סרר	118
2.2.7.4. פרר	118
2.3. A definition of the domain: Some conclusions	118
2.3.1. The domain of negative moral behaviour	119
2.3.2. The lexical items and their semantic connections	121
2.4. Parallelism and typicality	124
2.4.1. The position of חטא in parallelism	124
2.4.2. The position of עון in parallelism	126
2.4.3. The position of פשע in parallelism	127
2.4.4. The position of און in parallelism	128
2.4.5. The position of רעע in parallelism	129
2.4.6. The position of רשע in parallelism	129
2.5. Some conclusions about parallelism and typicality	130
3. Semantic analysis of the lexical items	135
3.1. חטא	135
3.2. עון	145
3.3. פשע	153
3.4. און	157

3.5. רעע	161
3.6. רשע	171
4. Conclusions	176
4.1. Theoretical considerations	177
4.2. Summary	179
4.2.1. World view variables	179
4.2.2. CA and conceptual semantics	182
Chapter 6 – HEBREW LEXICONS AND WORLD VIEW	184
1. Introduction	184
2. Hebrew lexicons	186
2.1. Brown, Driver & Briggs	187
2.1.1. Introduction	187
2.1.2. A brief overview of the lexical items in BDB	188
2.1.3. Evaluation of BDB	189
2.2. Koehler & Baumgartner	189
2.2.1. Introduction	189
2.2.2. A brief overview of the lexical items in KB	190
2.2.3. Evaluation of KB	192
2.3. Jenni & Westermann	192
2.3.1. Introduction	192
2.3.2. A brief overview of the lexical items in JW	193
2.3.3. Evaluation of JW	195
2.4. VanGemeren	195
2.4.1. Introduction	195
2.4.2. A brief overview of the lexical items in VG	197
2.4.3. Evaluation of VG	199
2.5. De Blois	200
2.5.1. Introduction	200
2.5.2. מנחם in DB	204
2.5.3. Evaluation of DB	205
3. Some observations about Hebrew lexicography	208
3.1. General remarks	208
3.1.1. Introduction	208
3.1.2. Suggestions for Hebrew lexicography	210
3.1.3. A proposal	212
Chapter 7 – CONCLUSIONS	218
1. Introduction	218
2. Componential analysis of meaning	218
3. World view analysis	220
4. Hebrew lexicography	221
5. General observations	222
REFERENCES CITED	224

List of abbreviations

BDB	Brown, Driver & Briggs (1951)
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
CA	Componential analysis of meaning
Dan	Daniel
DB	De Blois (2000)
Deu	Deuteronomy
Exo	Exodus
Ezk	Ezekiel
Isa	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
JW	Jenni & Westermann (1997)
KJV	King James Version
Lev	Leviticus
LXX	Septuagint
Mic	Micah
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NBG51	Dutch Version of 1951 (Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap)
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NJV	New Jewish Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
Psa	Psalms
Pro	Proverbs
REB	Revised English Bible
RSV	Revised Standard Version
TEV	Today's English Version
WVI	World view issues

List of figures

Figure 1	Translational equivalents in the Revised Standard Version
Figure 2	Paradigm of some English terms for <i>human beings</i> .
Figure 3	The meaning of <i>bachelor</i>
Figure 4	Constituent structure of <i>The man hits the colorful ball</i>
Figure 5	The translation process
Figure 6	World view and cultural subsystems
Figure 7	Integration of world view variables
Figure 8	Adjusted model of world view variables
Figure 9	Horizontal <i>Space</i> in Trito-Isaiah
Figure 10	A diagram of <i>Time</i> and vertical <i>Space</i>
Figure 11	Positive – negative dichotomy
Figure 12	World view variables in the book of Isaiah
Figure 13	Combinations of lexical items in synonymous parallelism
Figure 14	Occurrences of contrastive lexical items in parallelism
Figure 15	Synonymous and antonymous relationships between the lexical items
Figure 16	Continuum of the scale of generic semantic scope
Figure 17	Tentative scale of generic semantic scope sub-domain B
Figure 18	Circular schema of semantic scope
Figure 19	Typicality scale of the domain of negative moral behaviour
Figure 20	Summary of world view aspects in semantic analysis
Figure 21	Proposed outline of dictionary entry for negative moral behaviour

Acknowledgments

To the following people and organizations I would like to express my sincere thanks:

1. My promoter, Prof. C.H.J. van der Merwe who has guided and encouraged me throughout this endeavor. He was a source of inspiration and friendship during the periods I spent in Stellenbosch. I also thank the faculty of the department of Ancient Studies who have always welcomed and assisted me.
2. The United Bible Societies for the stimulus and direction they provided. I am particularly indebted to Drs. Philip Noss and Aloo Mojola who have each in their own way led me to pursue this study. A special word of thanks should also go to Prof. Wendland who has carefully read through this thesis and who has made numerous comments and suggestions and who has asked lots of pertinent questions that helped me to clarify many of the issues.
3. The Reformed Mission League in The Netherlands who have always shown their interest in this project. They have made it possible for me to enjoy the privilege of being involved in Bible translation in the various contexts in which I have served in Kenya, Malawi and elsewhere. In doing so they have shown their commitment and vision in the crucial task of Bible translation as part of the ministry of the Church.
4. Prof. W.A. M. Beuken who was willing to share his thoughts and ideas on the subject, particularly in connection with issues related to the cultural aspects of study of the book of Isaiah.
5. My wife Ineke and our children Willem & Janneke, Marleen, Jan and Jacob. I apologize for spending so many hours away from home and even more for physically being at home while my thoughts were elsewhere! Without your love, help and stimulating drive this study would have been impossible.

As a non-mother tongue speaker, I recognize there may be places where the English is not as clear as it could be. The primary purpose of this thesis is to acknowledge and develop theory and apply it to the ministry of Bible translation. While acknowledging the assistance of those mentioned above I take full responsibility for this work.

I thank God for health, strength and inspiration. May He use this modest attempt as a contribution to the ministry of Bible translation.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

It is generally acknowledged that translation and culture are intrinsically related and that therefore culture is one aspect in the translation process that needs careful consideration.¹ According to Nord “a translator has to be aware of the rich points relevant to a particular translation task between the groups and sub-groups on either side of the languacultural barrier” (1997:25).² It is obvious that these observations also apply to the semantic aspects of translation. However, when it comes to semantic analysis of individual lexical items that need to be translated, the position of cultural elements in the semantic description is not always clearly defined, neither is it clear how they can be accounted for in the analytical process. To what extent do cultural aspects define the semantic contents of lexical items? And to what extent is it possible to objectively identify the relationship that exists between closely related lexical items and the world view from which these lexical items originate? These are the main issues that are being addressed in this study.

2. Problem statement and focus

The problem of this study is to be formulated as follows: The study seeks to develop a tool for semantic analysis of the meaning of lexical items that does justice to both linguistic and cultural aspects of meaning, whereby the focus is on semantic aspects of meaning that are particular to world view issues in the source language and culture.

The study will be limited to one specific semantic domain³, the domain of negative moral behaviour and to one specific body of literature, namely the book of Isaiah.

Up to now componential analysis of meaning has often been used to analyze and describe meanings of lexical items. Given its narrow theoretical basis in structuralist linguistic theory, it cannot, in its present form, consider cultural aspects which, from a cognitive point of view, form

¹ See, among others: Nida & Taber (1969:110), Wendland (1987), Shaw (1988), Luzbetak (1990), Stine & Wendland (1990), Nord (1997:23-25), Hatim & Mason (1997), Hatim (1997), and Katan (1999).

² The two crucial words in this quote are defined by Nord (1997:25) as follows. ‘Rich points’ are differences in behaviour that cause culture conflicts or communication breakdowns between two communities in contact. ‘Languaculture’ emphasizes the interdependence of language and culture.

³ A semantic domain consists of any set of meanings which share a significant semantic feature in common (Nida, 1979:19).

an integrated part of the meaning. In this study I will develop componential analysis of meaning as a flexible tool able to incorporate these cultural aspects as well. The study will mainly be informed by theoretical insights from linguistics and anthropology.

3. Preliminary study

The proposed study originates from problems that I have experienced as consultant of Bible translation projects carried out under the auspices of the United Bible Societies. The translation of biblical key terms in particular is an area that needs urgent attention. Translators largely rely on English translations, since the original languages are often not accessible for them. Instead they have to depend on a fairly literal translation which functions as a so-called 'base text'. The Revised Standard Version (RSV) is the most commonly used text for this purpose. An investigation of this text shows that there is a considerable degree of inconsistency in the translation of certain key terms (see Chapter 2, Section 1). The criteria on the basis of which translation decisions have been made are not clear to the reader. This text can therefore not serve as a reliable basis for some of the most fundamental choices that have to be made by Bible translators.

Similarly, Hebrew and Greek lexicons are often of limited value for translation. Many lexicons find 'the real meaning' of a word by describing its etymology, hardly paying attention to the linguistic and cultural context. But does this original meaning still exist in the current usage of a word? Louw & Nida (1988), as well as the ongoing project of the UBS to create a Hebrew lexicon based on semantic domains are commendable attempts to draw more attention to relevant issues in lexicography, such as the existence of semantic domains. Since semantic domains are culture-specific,⁴ the theoretical underpinning of domain definitions needs more attention.

The following points show the unresolved problems in current research:

1. Componential analysis of meaning, used as the basis for Louw & Nida (1988) and for the current UBS Hebrew semantic domain dictionary, is largely modeled on Nida (1979). The theoretical basis for the theory is transformational grammar as it had developed in the 1960s and 1970s. This theory views linguistics, and within linguistics, semantics as separate and independent modules of human cognition. The theory assumes other independent modules in human cognition as well. However, it is not able to link the various modules and to describe the way they influence each other in terms of perception and categorization. The resulting method of semantic analysis isolates semantic

⁴ This crucial point is overlooked by Swanson (1997) who bases his electronic Hebrew dictionary on the same semantic domain as Louw & Nida's (1988) Greek dictionary.

components from other areas of cognition and is therefore unable to incorporate vital elements of human cognition.

2. In world view theory Kearney's model (1984) provides a theoretical starting point. However, his model is lacking in flexibility, assuming certain cultural universals that need to be analyzed in every culture. In cross-cultural communication large distances in terms of time, space, language, and culture have to be bridged and a static model does not sufficiently account for the cultural differences.
3. There are no examples of any research combining a cognitive focus in linguistics and world view theory.
4. The traditional approach to componential analysis of meaning is lacking in flexibility in both terms of semantic description and representational formats.

4. Goals

In order to address the research problem adequately the following broad goals have been formulated for this study. The study seeks:

1. To develop a theoretical framework for semantic analysis in which linguistic and anthropological concerns are combined in a balanced way.
2. To develop a model for semantic analysis based on cognitive semantics in which componential analysis of meaning will be used as a theoretically unbiased tool to analyze lexical items in such a way that it takes care of both linguistic and anthropological concerns, particularly in the area of world view.
3. To assess a number of Hebrew lexicons in light of the theory that is developed under Points 1 and 2.

5. Theoretical points of departure

The theoretical starting point is the work on componential analysis of meaning as developed by Nida (1979). Since this work is dated because of its exclusively structuralist approach, modern insights from cognitive linguistics, such as proposed by Geeraerts et al. (1994) need to be considered. The vital link between cognitive linguistics and world view theory will be based on Palmer (1996), while world view analysis will build on the theory developed by Kearny (1984), as described under point 3 of this study.

6. Hypotheses

In order to be able to have an adequate evaluation of the significance of the present study I have formulated the following hypotheses. In the final chapter I will return to these hypotheses so as to assess their validity.

1. Componential analysis of meaning can be developed into a theoretically unbiased tool for cross-cultural communication.
2. Cognitive semantics, particularly categorization, provides essential insight into the semantic structure of lexical items.
3. Cognitive semantics should incorporate anthropological theory in order to be relevant in cross-cultural communication.
4. Lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah in general will provide enough research materials to proof points 1-4.

7. Research issues

To study the problem in a systematic manner a number of more detailed research issues have to be dealt with:

1. Provide a theoretical framework in which componential analysis of meaning and world view theory are balanced in reciprocal way.
2. Define and delineate the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour in Isaiah.
3. Define the lexical items in relationship to their contexts and to other lexical items in this domain as well as in connection with occurring antonyms.
4. The issues (2) and (3) need to be considered in the light of the prevailing world view in Isaiah.
5. To combine theoretical advances in cognitive linguistics and cognitive anthropology into a methodological approach that will provide translators with the necessary tools to make informed decisions.

8. Methodology and outline

Section 3 gives a brief overview of the present state of research. It also shows where the shortcomings are in current research. In this study I want to develop a method that is flexible enough to be applied to cross-cultural communication. In order to achieve this I propose the following:

1. Given the cross-cultural nature of Bible translation it is important that a tool be developed that is free from the theoretical constraints that limit the application of Nida's model, so

that insights from cognitive semantics can also be accounted for. The tool should be such that it can still provide an objective basis for comparison. Some of the questions to be dealt with are: How do people categorize? And, more importantly, what is the underlying rationale for defining the categories. This requires a careful analysis of the world view of that particular culture. This point is often recognized (de Blois, 2000:28) but no theoretical framework exists that combines semantic analysis and world view theory in such a way that it provides the translator with sufficient insight into the problem so as to make informed translational decisions. These issues are discussed in Chapter 2.

2. It was noted in Section 3 that Kearney's world view model lacks in flexibility. In Chapter 3 I will propose a more flexible model that enables a broader application in various cultural contexts. Instead of Kearney's cultural universals I will propose a model that is based on variables and that is able to incorporate the different emphases that can be observed in different cultures. This proposed model will be tested in a world view analysis based on the text of Isaiah in Chapter 4.
3. A componential analysis of meaning will be carried out of the lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour in Isaiah. This analysis will equally focus on linguistic and cultural components. I will also develop a variety of representational models to visualize the various aspects of the research, both in terms of world view and semantics. These aspects form the substance of Chapter 5.
4. An analysis of the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour in four existing Hebrew lexicons and in one that is currently being developed illustrates the significance of the study. Chapter 6 provides the details.
5. Finally, in Chapter 7 some conclusions from the study will be listed.

Chapter 2

COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

1. Introduction

The translation of lexical items that belong to one semantic domain is a complicated matter. This applies in particular to the translation of Hebrew lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour, such as אָן, חטא, עון, פשע, רעע, and רשע. Different scholars have recognized the problem (Silva, 1983:124; Bunn, 1986:77-79), but so far, no satisfactory explanation has been offered. The lexicons do not provide the translators with the required help, neither do existing translations in major languages. There is considerable translational overlap between the lexical items in all of these translations, so translators often do not know how to handle this problem. Or, they may not even be in a position to know that a problem exists, since often they do not have access to the biblical languages, and therefore depend entirely on one or more fairly literal translations. In Anglophone Africa the Revised Standard Version is the most commonly used translation for this purpose. The RSV offers at least 11 equivalents with varying degrees of overlap among the preceding lexical items. This text can therefore not serve as a reliable basis for some of the most fundamental choices that have to be made by the translators. Figure 1 shows where the overlap occurs in the RSV.

Hebrew	RSV equivalents
אָן	iniquity, evil, wicked, unrighteous
חטא	sin
עון	iniquity, guilt(y)
פשע	rebel, transgress
רעע	evil, wicked, harm, disaster
רשע	guilt(y), wicked

Figure 1: Translational equivalents in the Revised Standard Version

Given the fact that this involves crucial biblical key terms, it is clear that this problem needs serious attention. To complicate the matter further, it should also be realized that in translation we are dealing with cross-cultural communication. The problems that arise at the level of the source

language are often reinforced by the intricacies of the receptor language. For instance, in the Pökot language, spoken in northwestern Kenya, the number of lexical items that might serve as equivalents for the Hebrew words is higher than the number of Hebrew lexical items. How can a reliable choice be made? In Pökot the specific lexical items are intimately related to the speakers' world view system, as is the case in Hebrew.

An additional problem is the fact that the bodies of information on which we have to depend is significantly different in nature. In Hebrew we have to rely on ancient texts that have a long history of transmission and which are often expressed in a highly developed rhetorical fashion. The language as it occurs in these ancient texts is not spoken anymore. The corpus from which to draw the data is limited and static. Pökot has no written literary tradition and is still spoken today. It is under strong influence and pressure from other languages and is therefore in a dynamic state of continual influx.

Several areas of study need to be investigated carefully. In this chapter I want to look at the question: What light does semantic theory shed on this problem? I will first discuss the theory of componential analysis of meaning. After that I want to advance a broader approach based on semantic theory in general and, finally, I will develop a theoretical framework that may be helpful to address the problem. This implies that this chapter is written from one particular perspective, namely; how useful is contemporary semantic theory for distinguishing meanings of lexical items that are apparently closely related within one particular semantic domain? How can we make a reliable cross-cultural comparison? And more specifically: how useful is the semantic theory for the analysis of lexical items referring to what appear to be abstract entities?

2. Componential analysis

2.1. Theoretical background

For a long time componential analysis of meaning (CA) has been regarded as a helpful tool in the analysis of meaning. CA works at the analysis of referential meaning at word level. The basic theoretical assumption is that the meaning of a word can be split up into contrasting features, or components of meaning (Nida, 1979:32-67; Fronzaroli, 1993:79). In this way, the distinctive semantic elements become clear and the semantic differences can be distinctly described, which is, of course, quite a helpful tool for the translation of lexical items, such as the ones that are the subject of this study. This makes the choice of CA a natural option for description and analysis of the lexical items.

The assumption that semantic features can be described in binary oppositions is one of the essential trademarks of CA. A very simple, but rather typical, semantic description of *man*, *woman*, *boy* and *girl* focuses on the features MALE/FEMALE and ADULT/IMMATURE. *Man* is then described as +MALE and +ADULT; *woman* is +FEMALE and +ADULT; *boy* is +MALE and +IMMATURE; and *girl* is +FEMALE and +IMMATURE. An alternative way of presenting this information is expressed in Figure 2.

	MALE	FEMALE	ADULT	IMMATURE
<i>Man</i>	+	-	+	-
<i>Woman</i>	-	+	+	-
<i>Boy</i>	+	-	-	+
<i>Girl</i>	-	+	-	+

Figure 2: Paradigm of some English terms for *human beings*.

Alternatively, the meaning of a lexical item can also be expressed in form of a diagram that indicates the different semantic fields. In order to prevent ambiguity, the fields can be arranged on the basis of a hierarchical structure. This structure also indicates the relationship and semantic distance between the different lexical meanings. Furthermore it can show both grammatical and semantic markers, as is shown in Figure 3:

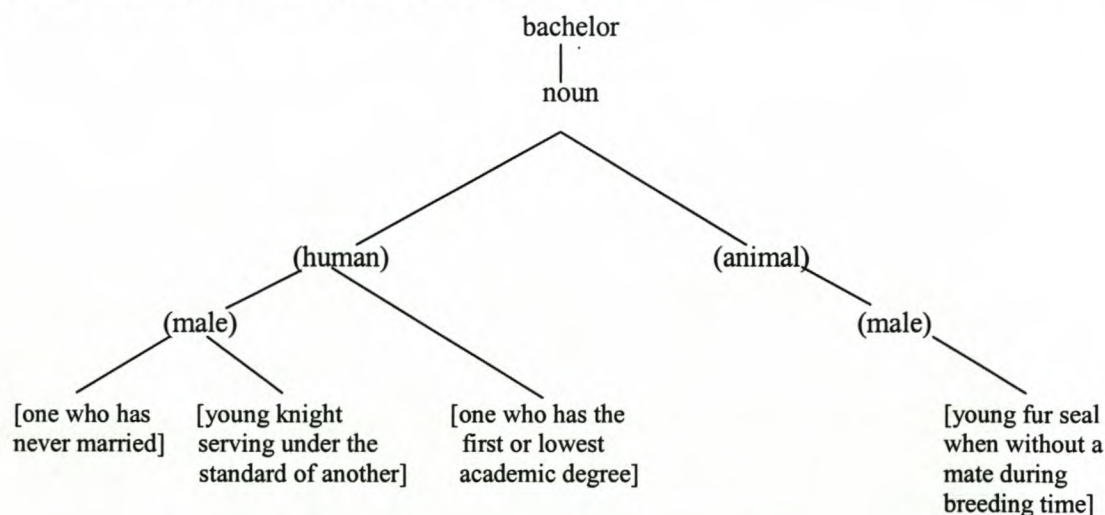


Figure 3: The meaning of *bachelor*
(Adapted from Nida, 1964:39)

Another significant element of CA is its presumed ability to describe the internal structure of the entire lexicon of a language. The assumption is that each language can be divided up into well-structured semantic domains that draw on certain semantic features which are supposedly

universal. Although thus far there is no such comprehensive description of a language, there have been several attempts to describe certain domains exhaustively and to show the cross-cultural applicability of such analyses. One example is the research done by Berlin and Kay (1969) in which they discovered that, although the numbers vary, in each language there are a limited number of basic colour terms. They also discovered that there is a particular order in the occurrence of the basic terms. Some of these discoveries direct us towards a discussion of the issue of whether a limited set semantic universals exists, and if so, what are the implications for semantic analysis? I will return to these questions in Section 2.3.

2.2. Theoretical development

2.2.1. Introduction

The development towards CA has taken place over a long period of time. Although this is never explicitly stated in the literature, the origins of CA as a cross-cultural research method must be sought in anthropological circles. At a later stage CA was incorporated as part of structural linguistics. Many anthropologists from different theoretical persuasions have been involved in the description of taxonomies, semantic domains and other types of linguistic classifications in which analysis on the basis of contrasting components of meaning and categorization played a major role. The description of kinship systems was for some time a prominent feature in anthropology. The structuralist anthropologist Lévi-Strauss is one example. He not only believed in universal structures of the mind, but “also that the most fundamental operation of the mind is to operate in terms of binary oppositions” (Langness, 1987:145). Another example of the significance that anthropologists attached to kinship description is the cognitive anthropologist Ward Goodenough (1965). Although CA is generally viewed as belonging to the structuralist school, it is clear that there are differences of opinion in this respect. D’Andrade (1995: 16-121) describes CA and its extensions, such as semantic networks and taxonomies, as being part of the development of cognitive anthropology. He argues that the categories based on CA are “native categories, derived from an emic⁵ analysis of the way the natives discriminate things in their world, rather than

⁵ The words ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ were introduced by Pike (1954:8-10), based on the linguistic terms ‘phonemic’ and ‘phonetic’. Phonetics provides a universal inventory of sounds and symbols for sounds. Phonemics describes exactly and only the speech sounds and contrasts in a specific language. In anthropological research etic models are generally based on criteria and models developed by the researcher. Emic models want to study and analyze the world from the perspective of the people in a given context.

imposing categories from the outside" (30). The word *emic* should here be understood in the sense of "experience-near concepts", developed by the symbolic anthropologist Clifford Geertz in opposition to what he calls "experience-distant concepts" (1966:57). The experience-near concepts exist in the minds of the people. These concepts are specific to the culture of a certain (group of) people. The latter, experience-distant concepts, related to the word *etic*, are generally expressed in dictionary meanings and are largely independent of specific cultural contexts. The experience-distant concepts are used to link the descriptions of specific contexts to a wider used conceptual framework. In this sense CA helps to understand how the people themselves view the objects and things that make up their world, in other words, it makes the relation between human society and human cognition clear and analyzable. D'Andrade considers "the early work on semantics" (1995:248), as he calls it, not as a completed episode, but rather as one that requires "a general consolidation of method and theory" (248). Some work has already taken place. MacLaury (1992), a cognitive anthropologist, has done research in the area of colour terminology. And Geeraerts et al. (1994) is another example of an analysis based on feature description in which some of the ideas of CA are developed further in new directions. Their general framework is characterized by Geeraerts et al. as one based on cognitive linguistics (11-14). As we shall see later, this is also the direction in which I want to take this study. A connection with more modern insights in semantics and cognitive linguistics should lead to a fruitful approach that will enable translators to handle in a responsible way the kind of problems that we are discussing here.

2.2.2. The theoretical basis of componential analysis of meaning

As far as the semantic theory is concerned, the basis for CA was laid in a seminal article by Katz & Fodor (1963, see also Geeraerts, 1988:23). At the outset they clearly state that their paper "does not attempt to present a semantic theory of natural language, but rather to characterize such a theory" (170). This does not mean that the theory was left at that stage, but before we look at further developments I want to briefly summarize the main propositions of Katz & Fodor:

1. A full synchronic description of a natural language is a grammatical (broadly construed to include phonology, phonemics, morphology, and syntax) and semantic characterization of that language...Hence, a semantic theory must be constructed to have whatever properties are demanded by its role in linguistic description (170-171).
2. Semantic rules have to be recursive for the same reasons as syntactic rules: that the number of possible sentences in a language is very large, possibly infinite. The striking fact about

language use is the absence of repetition: almost every sentence uttered is uttered for the first time (171).

3. The relationship between a sentence and its meaning is not arbitrary: syntactic structure and lexical content interact. Meaning is *compositional*. The way words are combined into phrases and phrases into sentences determines the meaning of sentences. A sentence and its grammatical description provide the input for a semantic theory (193)

These propositions clearly indicate the shape of the semantic theory that has developed from these assumptions. It is precisely a semantic theory that was lacking at that time. In the words of Katz & Fodor, “semantics suffers not from a dearth of facts about meanings and meaning relations in natural languages, but rather from the lack of an adequate theory to organize, systematize, and generalize these facts” (170). Some basic elements for the theory have already been indicated. The most important of these is the introduction of the *projection rule component*: “A sentence and its grammatical description provide the input to a semantic theory. Its output is a semantic interpretation of each sentence given as input” (193). The projection rules describe the semantic operations of sentences generated by the grammar. This results in diagrams such as known from transformational generative linguistics. The exact details of these projection rules, which are usually put in a series of logical successions, would take us beyond the scope of this study, but “[the] general way in which the projection rule works is by proceeding from the top of a constituent structure tree and affecting a series of amalgamations” (199/7). Figure 4 provides a typical example of the semantic analysis of the structure of the sentence *The man hits the colorful ball*.

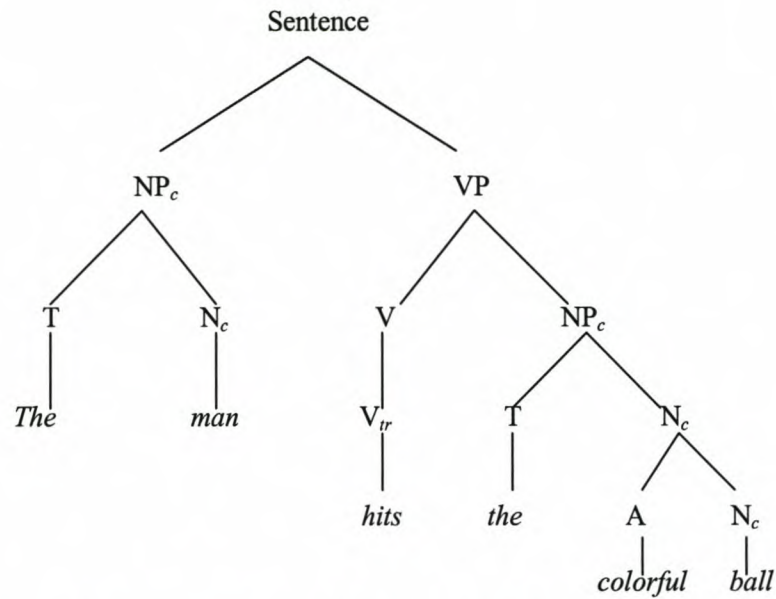


Figure 4: Constituent structure of *The man hits the colorful ball*
(Katz & Fodor, 1963:197)

2.2.3. CA and Bible translation

The basic outline of the theory of CA is clear. It is also clear that CA must enjoy much of its attraction in the field of cross-cultural communication. It is supposed to enable the translator to analyze and compare components of basic referential meaning in an efficient and well-structured manner on the basis of which well-informed choices for faithful translation can be made, that is, a translation that is faithful to the meaning of the source language text. The method seems to be objective and verifiable. It reduces the task of translation to comparing distinctive semantic features and this can be done with an almost mathematical precision. The responsibility of the translator is basically to evaluate the various types of opposition and then to decide which lexical item in the receptor language covers the semantic features of the lexical item of the source language most adequately and faithfully. Besides that, it appears that CA is 'language neutral' and at the same time it takes the 'folk' perspective, i.e. it looks at reality from the perspective of the language user. From this point of view CA is an extremely helpful and practical tool. Saeed (1997) summarizes it as follows:

There are related reasons for identifying components: 1 they allow an economic characterization of the lexical relations and the sentence relations; 2 they have linguistic import outside semantics; 3 they form part of our psychological architecture, they provide us with a unique view of conceptual structure (232).

2.2.3.1. CA and translation theory

If we consider the considerable cultural and historical gap or, in many cases, gaps that have to be bridged in Bible translation, it is not surprising that CA has had a major impact on the development of Bible translation theory. In this development, the principle of componential analysis was not only restricted to semantic analysis, but it grew into a theory that encompasses the analysis of the entire source text that has to be translated. Major contributions in this field have been made by Nida (1964), Nida & Taber (1969), and de Waard & Nida (1986). At the time of publication, Nida (1964) introduced an important new direction in the theory of Bible translation. Up to that point the theoretical orientation was primarily one of so-called *formal equivalence*. This type of translation is basically oriented towards the source language in that it attempts (a) to be faithful to its grammatical form, (b) to be consistent in word usage with respect to the source language, and (c) to formulate meaning in terms of the source context (Nida, 1964:165). Nida develops his theory against the backdrop of formal equivalence and calls it *dynamic equivalence*. Initially he defines dynamic equivalence as “the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message” (1964:166). The crucial words in this definition are *equivalent*, *natural* and *closest*. The first term points toward the source-language message, the second toward the receptor language, and the last one “binds these two orientations together” (1964:166). In his subsequent works Nida has further developed the theory, but not added any substantial new elements to it. In Nida & Taber (1969) dynamic equivalence is defined as translation “in which the message of the original text has been so transported into the receptor language that the RESPONSE of the RECEPTOR is essentially like that of the original receptors” (202). The same three-fold orientation, toward source-language message, receptor language and bringing them together in the notion of response is still there. However, the theory does not explain how the response of the original receptors can be measured, so there is also little possibility of determining the degree of success of the translation, since it is to be evaluated against a standard that cannot objectively be ascertained.

In de Waard & Nida (1986) the term functional equivalence is introduced. This sounds like a major development in terms of translation theory, but

the substitution of “functional equivalence” is not designed to suggest anything essentially different from what was earlier designated by the phrase “dynamic equivalence.” Unfortunately, the expression “dynamic equivalence” has often been misunderstood as referring to anything which might have special impact and appeal for receptors (vii/viii).

Nevertheless, the definition of the principle of functional equivalence has a slightly different emphasis: it entails “thoroughly understanding not only the meaning of the source text but also

the manner in which the intended receptors of a text are likely to understand it in the receptor language" (1986:9). The emphasis has changed from "response" to "understanding". More attention is paid to the function of a text:

To ascertain equivalence, either of content or form, one must focus upon the functions involved. In other words, what functions does a text perform? And how are these functions communicated by the lexical, grammatical and rhetorical structures (1986:11)?

The problem of equivalence is obviously the most widely debated issue in translation (Baker, 1996). The above summary of dynamic and functional equivalence already indicates that this is probably the most vulnerable aspect of the theory, mainly because of the difficulties involved in assessing the complexities of the source text. In the meantime "the most widely accepted frame of reference for translation equivalence is now probably that of 'function' " (Gutt, 1991:10).

How does this functional theory relate to the principle of CA? As we have seen, the decomposition into basic semantic features is the most important element of CA. Nida & Taber extend this fundamental principle of CA into a tool for determining the essential features of the source language in general. In the first place, they use the principle of decomposition according to the theory that is specified above for the description and analysis of the meaning of lexical items (56-98). Here they build on the foundations laid by Nida (1964: 30-119), where he explicates *meaning* entirely along the theoretical lines of CA. But the translation theory goes beyond this point and builds on the premise that the translator must first study the source text in minute detail and reduce it to its underlying kernels, "the basic structural elements out of which the language builds its elaborate surface structures" (Nida & Taber, 1969:39). CA obviously plays a crucial role in this process of uncovering the underlying structures of the text. Nida & Taber (1969) describe analysis as

the set of procedures, including back transformation and componential analysis, which aim at the discovering of kernels underlying the source text and the clearest understanding of the meaning in preparation for the transfer (199).

The basic assumption is "the fact that languages agree far more on the level of the kernels, than on the level of the more elaborate structures. This means that if one can reduce the grammatical structures to kernel level, they can be transferred more readily and with a minimum of distortion" (39). The methodology is not confined to the grammatical structures only. The analytical part of the translation process entails two main aspects: (a) the analysis of the grammatical relationships, and (b) the analysis of the meanings of the words and combination of words. The process is then

completed by the stages of transfer and restructuring (Nida & Taber, 1969:33). The following diagram depicts the process.

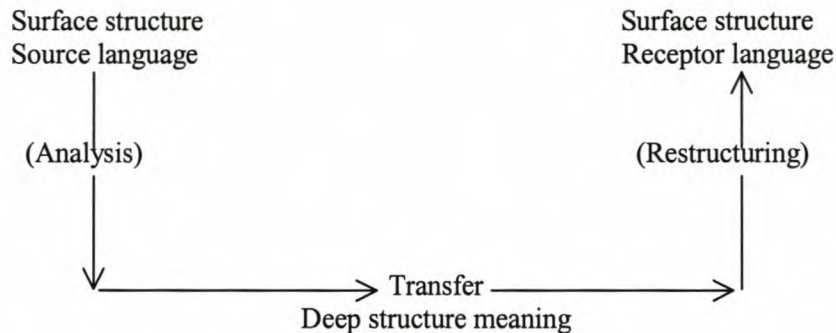


Figure 5: The translation process
(Adapted from Nida & Taber, 1969:33)

This model has had (and still has) a tremendous impact on Bible translation theory and practice. Beekman & Callow (1974), Shaw (1988), and Barnwell (1974) are but a few examples to show that this approach has gained a large following in the development of translation theory. Wendland (1987) bases his discussion of the translation of culturally-unfamiliar concepts on the same principles of CA (57). And also outside the specific field of Bible translation the principles of CA are also applied, as is evident in Baker's discussion of equivalence at word level (1996:10-45). Most training materials currently in use for Bible translators are also based on this theory. Loewen (1981) contains several exercises on distinguishing form and meaning, as well as on kernel sentences. The same applies to Barnwell (86). Up to now there is hardly any Bible translator training material available that is not based on this theory, so by implication this means that the influence of CA and the related translation theory is widespread and will continue to be influential for quite some time. As far as translation practice is concerned, de Blois states that the theory of dynamic equivalence "had a major impact on the work of hundreds of translation teams all over the world" (1997:21).

2.2.3.2. CA and lexicons

Another area in which CA and semantic feature analysis in general has made a major contribution toward Bible translation is in lexicography. Louw & Nida (1988) have produced a lexicon for the New Testament that clearly shows the marks of semantic feature analysis. The lexicon was written with the translator in mind, it "contains suggestions which may be relevant for translators" (viii). The main reason for writing this lexicon was the general dissatisfaction among translators with existing dictionaries, "which for the most part are limited in indicating meanings,

since they depend principally on a series of glosses" (viii). Wierzbicka (1996) also recognizes this point, although she does not talk about glosses, but about "a more or less random list of quasi-synonyms" (240).

In addition to that dictionaries are usually rather unsystematic in their treatment of various meanings and lack systematic treatment of idioms (Louw & Nida, 1988:viii-ix). The basic principles of Louw & Nida (1988) can be summarized as follows:

1. There are "no synonyms," in the sense that no two lexical items ever have completely the same meanings in all of the contexts in which they might occur.
2. Differences in meaning are marked by context, either textual or extratextual.
3. Meaning is defined by a set of distinctive features.
4. Figurative meanings differ from their bases with respect to three fundamental factors: diversity in domains, differences in the degree of awareness of the relationship between literal and figurative meanings, and the extent of conventional usage.
5. Both the different meanings of the same word and the related meanings of different words tend to be multidimensional and are only rarely orthogonal in structure, that is to say, the different meanings tend to form irregularly shaped constellations rather than neatly organized structures (see xv-xviii).

Given its orientation toward definition rather than the listing of English glosses, this lexicon has proved to be very useful for Bible translators. Dictionary glosses only add an extra cross-cultural barrier for translators in most languages. The fact that this lexicon is based on semantic domains is particularly useful since it helps translators to delineate the terminology within the domain and gives helpful insights into the way the Greek text is semantically structured. Additional work on a Hebrew lexicon based on semantic domains is already in progress (see Chapter 6, Section 2.5.). In the meantime there is at present an electronic edition available (Swanson: 1997), which is, as far as the semantic domains are concerned, entirely based on Louw & Nida (1988).⁶ All this is ample testimony to the fact that Bible translation is currently deeply influenced by the theories based on the principle of feature analysis and the translation theory that has developed out of this approach: dynamic or functional equivalence.

Before we turn to a discussion of the problems involved in CA, we first look at recent developments with regard to CA.

⁶ It should be noted, though, that the fact that Swanson (1997) is based on the same domains as the NT lexicon implicitly denies the fact that languages are culture specific. This does raise questions with regard to the relationship language--world view, which will be addressed separately.

2.2.4. Recent developments in CA

2.2.4.1. Introduction

It was already stated in 2.2.2. that CA is not an attempt to provide a full description of a natural language. Although several authors have worked on different aspects of CA, there is no attempt in the literature to present it as a comprehensive theory of natural language. Most linguists have used it as a helpful analytical tool to describe and explain certain semantic aspects of language use, particularly in the area of feature categorization, semantic oppositions, taxonomies and diagnostic semantic components.

Although there have been serious criticisms of CA (which will be discussed in Section 2.3), it is still considered by many as being of crucial value. “[CA] has been of considerable historical importance and is still widely accepted” (Lyons, 1995:117). The fact that it remains the subject of research in semantics is to a large extent attributed to the fact that it is “far from being in conflict with other approaches to structural semantics” as Lyons (1995:117) puts it. I would like to add that the broad interest from cognitive linguistics for CA may also be taken as a sign that its compatibility is not restricted to structural semantics only, but should also include cognitive semantics.

The theoretical developments have mainly taken place in two directions:

1. Work on improving and extending the categories applied in CA.
2. Exploring and discovering new areas of analysis, particularly in the broad field of categorization.

2.2.4.2. Improving and extending the categories of CA

Reducing the referential meaning of lexical items to sets of binary oppositions with plus and minus values attached to them has been seen by many as a serious limitation of CA. Not all semantic aspects of a lexical item can be described in such a categorial way. Semantic values can not always be expressed in absolutes. They may have to be expressed in degrees. This is also evident in field of the lexical items that are subject of this study, *רשע*, *רעע*, *פשע*, *עון*, *חטא*, *און*. To analyze the differences exclusively in terms of positive and negative features would make the exercise virtually impossible. On the basis of a plus-minus semantic feature analysis it would become necessary to identify criteria to such a degree of specificity that it loses its value. It would also become impossible to describe the terms with a reasonable degree of objectivity. That may also be the reason that very little if any work has been done on the componential analysis of abstract words, such

as these. Does that mean that CA is not useful as an analytical tool in this respect? Or are there other ways to carry out the analysis on the basis of a componential analysis?

An analysis of the particular Hebrew lexical items in parallelism in the book of Isaiah has shown that CA is still useful, but it needs some modification (van Steenberg, 1999). It is demonstrated that there appears to be a fixed order in which the lexical items occur in parallelism. The combinations of the lexical items are predictable and consistent.

Exceptions to the rule can be explained on the basis of rhetorical issues involved in the text. This shows that the lexical items relate to each other in terms of degree of intensity. A scale of intensification indicates the order of the terms. In other words, the semantic features should in this case not be expressed in terms of negative and positive values, but rather they should be measured on a relative scale that indicates a degree, rather than an absolute value. In this case the degree indicates the level of intensity of the negative moral behaviour that is described by the specific lexical items.

De Stadler (1989:111) proposes a similar idea when he suggests that terms can be specified in terms of their value on a scale. In addition he also suggests that not every term should necessarily be described in terms of plus and minus values, but it may also represent neutral (or zero) values. In other words, a particular lexical item, such as *person* (in English), is [0-MALE].

Apart from the usual binary oppositions Leech (1983) suggests some additional categories of opposition: (a) binary taxonomy; (b) multiple taxonomy; (c) polarity; (d) relation; (e) hierarchy; and (f) inverse opposition. These are valuable additions that make CA a tool with a much broader applicability. At the same time Leech suggest the use of what he calls *redundancy rules*. These present the researcher with the possibility of reducing the number of features in order to make the analysis more manageable. For example, if a componential formula contains the feature +MALE or -MALE the feature +ANIMATE is implied and hence redundant (108-111). Leech makes a distinction between 'knowledge of language' and 'knowledge of the real world' (1983:8).

2.2.4.3. New areas

The new directions into which CA can be developed will be taken up as a separate issue in Section 4.

2.3. CA and universals

2.3.1. Introduction

In the discussion of the theory of CA I have already referred to the possible assumption that language is built upon a limited number of semantic universals. The debate about universals is an old one. In the beginning of this century Ferdinand de Saussure who is generally considered the founder of modern linguistics (Lyons, 1968:38) already developed a concept in which allowance for the existence of language universals was made. One of the characteristics of his approach was the fact that he considered language as a set of interrelated systems which distinguish between *langue* and *parole*. All members of a particular language-community produce utterances when they are using that language, which, despite their individual variations, are describable in terms of a particular system of rules and relations. In some sense, they have the same *structural* characteristics. The utterances are instances of *parole*, which the linguist takes as evidence for the construction of the underlying common structure: the *langue*. This underlying common structure has been taken by some linguists as consisting of universals or primitives which are considered to be innate.

In view of the cross-cultural perspective of the present investigation, the issue of universals seems to be an important one. As was mentioned already, Berlin & Kay (1963) tested the assumption about the existence of semantic universals in a cross-cultural study of colour terms. Katz & Fodor (1969) aim at discovering a deep-structure level where universal structures prevail. In the Bible translation theory of Nida & Taber (1969), the existence of universals is inherent since their theory too is aimed at uncovering the underlying structures of a text (see Section 2.2.3.). That is the level at which they address the problem of equivalence. A number of authors have also stated that CA is based on the assumption that a limited number of semantic universals do exist.⁷ The question therefore is: Do semantic universals exist? And if so, how relevant are they for cross-cultural communication?

2.3.2. The assumption of universals

The position one takes with regard to universals varies with the theoretical persuasion of the author. Generative semantics, for example, is based on the assumption that all meaning can be generated from the deep-structure of a language. The basic component of grammar generates the

⁷ See Lyons (1977:328), Leech (1983:118), Geeraerts (1986:105), De Stadler (1989:115) and Lyons (1995:114).

semantic structures which in the further process is transferred into syntactical surface structures.

Chomsky states this proposition as follows:

It is important to determine the universal, language-independent constraints on semantic features – in traditional terms, the system of possible concept. The very notion “lexical entry” presupposes some sort of fixed, universal vocabulary in terms of which the objects are characterized, just as the notion “phonetic representation” presupposes some sort of universal phonetic theory (1965:160)

It should be noted that in mainstream generative linguistics semantics has never played a significant role. In fact Wierzbicka (1996) has characterized Chomsky as a linguist who has shaped a “linguistics without meaning” (3). That this statement is too strong is demonstrated by Jackendoff who is a self-confessed generative linguist (1990:8). He devotes most of his scholarly endeavor to the development of semantic theory that fits within the framework of generative linguistics. At the same time it is remarkable to note that Wierzbicka has spent her entire linguistic career (or at least “a quarter of a century [1996:9]”) in the pursuance of discovering semantic universals. In fact, since the 1970s she is the most persistent advocate of language universals, expressing herself in the *natural language principle*: Semantic primitives and their elementary syntax exist as a minimal subset of ordinary natural language.

Although she takes a very strong stand against generative linguistics, she works from exactly the same basic assumption: language universals do, or, in her view, must exist. She even goes to the extent of stating that “the key to a most rigorous and yet insightful talk about meaning lies in the notion of semantic primitives” (1996:9).

A positive aspect of her approach is the close interaction between semantics and pragmatics. A related assumption is “that all meanings involve interaction between the speaker and the hearer” (1991:1). In order to describe meaning she sees an absolute need for

a semantic metalanguage. To compare meanings expressed in different cultures, one needs a semantic metalanguage independent, in essence, of any particular language or culture – and yet accessible and open to interpretation through any language (1991:6).

This sounds very attractive, certainly in view of the problem that I am investigating. It promises to open up the possibility of cross-language comparison without distortion of meaning and would therefore bring the solution to my problem a lot closer.

In Goddard and Wierzbicka (1994) the authors describe an elaborate research project among a variety of languages. The main question to be investigated was: “Do all peoples of the world have a shared set of concepts, forming the common conceptual foundation of all cultures (1)?” Based on seven principles, which actually should be seen as delimitations they come to “the

overwhelming conclusion...that there is indeed a universal 'alphabet of human thoughts', which can be identified via a systematic and methodological study of different languages" (2-3). It sounds as if we are coming close to a solution for the problem of cross-cultural communication, certainly when the authors add that "every semantically primitive meaning can be expressed through a distinct word, morpheme or fixed phrase in every language" (13). This would certainly solve the problem of translatability, but it should be noted that no reference is made to culture or context. They also do not talk about criteria that could guide in this process. Apart from that, a few other problems are left unresolved as well. In the "complete set of indefinable universal semantic elements" the terms for negative moral behaviour would fit in the subcategory GOOD and BAD, of the *universal* of *Evaluators and Descriptors* (31-48). But how does this add any clarification to the description of the nuances between the various lexical items within one language? And how does it address the problem of cross-language equivalence? The lexical items in most other languages will certainly fall within the same subcategory of the same universal. To what extent does this resolve the problem of translation? The process has only 'revealed' information that was already known. It shows that the presumed discovery of universals leads to semantic primitives of such an abstract and insubstantial degree that it does not provide much help in the analytical process pursued in this study. It offers no real help in the semantic description of culturally specific lexical items and their nuances. It is also important to note that Wierzbicka stands virtually alone in the linguistic literature with this approach.

2.3.3. Universals in CA

One of the principles of Goddard & Wierzbicka (1994) is the *principle of discrete and exhaustive analysis*. This principle entails that

Meanings can be analysed in a fully determinative way; that is any complex meaning can be decomposed into a combination of discrete other meanings, without circularity and without residue.

The pursuit of exhaustive analysis distinguishes the present approach from the tradition of componential analysis which attempts to capture only that portion of a word's meaning which enters into semantic opposition with other word-meanings (8).

This principle shows the above-mentioned need for a metalanguage, but it is difficult to see how the problem of circularity can be avoided. Metalanguage also has to make use of the limited possibilities offered by a certain human language. It will have to be formulated by somebody and hence it is formulated from a certain perspective, both culturally and linguistically, thus enhancing the danger of introducing an element of ethnocentrism in semantics (Dirven &

Verspoor, 1998:144). Even the undecomposable meanings will have to be described in one way or another. In other words, the difference that is noted with CA is a matter of scope, not one that involves a difference in principle. Goddard & Wierzbicka only claim that they analyze until they reach an absolute basic semantic level, the level of what they claim to be *primitives*. CA carries out the exercise of decomposition up to the point that sufficient information is gathered about the problem that is being investigated. In both cases the decision to stop the process of decomposition at a particular point is arbitrary. There is no theoretical difference in approach to the semantic analysis.

A possible misconception would be the assumption that CA is a theory of natural language. If that were the case, it would fall short of its claims. But again, this is not different from the claims made by Goddard & Wierzbicka. As I have already demonstrated, their approach too depends on a subjective decision to consider certain semantic features as primitives. This reinforces my position that CA should be seen as an analytical tool, not a semantic theory. I will return to this point later.

The issue to be addressed, then, is the question whether the tool of CA is dependent on the assumed existence of universals. This leads the discussion towards the point of contrast between universalism and relativism. The dilemma has been well formulated by Foley (1997):

Relativism is a philosophical position which claims that experience in the form of culturally mediated human interests plays a crucial and determinative role in cognitive functioning; it is to be contrasted with universalist rationalism, which contrarily emphasizes innate biological and psychological determinism 169.

It is this question that needs to be addressed from an anthropological perspective. It is not within the scope of this study to elaborate on it in detail. As far as CA is concerned, Lyons (1977) states it is based on the assumption that sense-components must be universal concepts. He characterizes the most extreme position in the debate with regard to CA as follows:

There are several versions of universalism: The most extreme of theses of universalism would combine at least the following three distinguishable sub-theses: (i) that there is a fixed set of semantic components, which are universal in that they are lexicalized in all languages; (ii) that the formal principles by which these sense-components are combined to yield as their products the meanings of these lexemes are universal (and presumably innate); and (iii) that the sense of all lexemes in all languages is decomposable, without residue, into variable combinations of (homogeneous) sense-components (331).

The results of this position were discussed in the previous section. It was demonstrated that, for all practical purposes, a more moderate position is to be preferred if the analysis is to yield significant results. I would like to distinguish between universal concepts and universal processes.

The limited value of the first is clear. However, the assumption of universal processes in the cognitive system of human beings opens up possibilities that probably have not yet been fully explored. This implies that the way humans build cognitive systems, process information, categorize and schematize their experience has significant universal features. However, the way these elements are expressed in language is culture specific. The tool of CA, free from the theoretical strings attached to it, can play a crucial role in cross-cultural comparison. It then serves as a tool to describe and analyze the features that have a bearing on our understanding of reality. The tool can then serve for both linguistic as well as psychological and anthropological input. This also makes CA relevant beyond the structuralist linguistic constraints, as we will see in the next paragraph.

2.4. Structuralism, pragmatics, cognitive linguistics and CA

2.4.1. Introduction

In discussing the theoretical position of CA it sometimes seems as if we are drawn back to the old philosophical debate about language among the Greeks (see Lyons, 1968:5-16). The distinction between 'nature' and 'convention' that was applied to language, centered on the question of the connection between the form of a word and its meaning. Are some words basically made up of imitative sounds, with the rest of the words derived from them? Or is language a matter of human convention and is it therefore essentially systematic and regular? But how do we then explain the irregularities? CA fits in with the 'convention' side of the debate. It naturally tries to divide everything into neat and logically structured categories. Cognitive linguistics takes the more 'natural' approach. It seeks to make a connection with the complexities of human cognition. But should the two approaches be entirely separated from each other? Is there no connection?

2.4.2. CA and structuralism

In his broad introduction to semantics, Saeed (1997) treats semantic theory based on meaning components as a separate theoretical development, entirely distinct from cognitive semantics. In contrast with authors such as D'Andrade (1995) and Geeraerts et al. (1995), he does not even recognize a gradual development between the two semantic perspectives. The connection of CA with structuralism, and more particularly generative linguistics, is obvious from the way the analysis is carried out, and even more so from the way the process is explained by Katz and Fodor (1963). In their approach they aim to expose the universal structures which they also assume to be at work under the surface of language utterances (see Figure 4). Nida & Taber

(1969) recognize that this is one of the most important contributions of generative transformational grammar (39). This is the most obvious example of a language theory that focuses on an investigation of the language system in isolation. This implies that Nida & Taber give a clear indication that their theoretical contributions should be seen against their structuralist background.

Another assumption, indicating the structuralist background of the theory, is that language is to be investigated as an independent module of the language-producing apparatus, rather than as an element belonging to the general cognitive structure of human beings. "The meaning of a word, for the structuralist, is constituted by the relations of similarity and contrast between the meaning of one word and others" (Bosch, 1988:63). This is exactly what CA seems to be doing according to the theory we have discussed thus far. However, it should be noted that more is involved in determining the semantic contribution of a lexical item to the sentence and to the discourse in which it occurs. Contrary to what structuralism seems to suggest, semantics cannot escape the fact, that cognitive meaning essentially deals with reference in context and cotext.

2.4.3. CA and pragmatics

The crucial element that I have not discussed up to this point is *language use*. This is where we seem to enter into the field of pragmatics. By definition the line between semantics and pragmatics is very thin and sometimes arbitrary. In semantics our first concern is obviously referential meaning. But too often semantics has been isolated from the users of the language. It was frequently practiced as "an abstract, descriptive science" (Mey, 1993:13). The main concern was the provision of a theoretical description, preoccupied with the truth-value of particular propositions, regardless of the context. In this study I propose to analyze meaning as it occurs in context in the widest possible sense of the word. This will include first and foremost the users. They do not operate in a vacuum. They are part of a certain context in which historical, cultural and literary factors can play a role that has to be analyzed carefully if we want to give a comprehensive semantic description of both the source and the receptor language. In other words, we are stepping into the field of language use, which is claimed to be part of pragmatics. "The whole gamut of problems having to do with users, turned out to be crucial for the meaning of what was being uttered" (Mey, 1993:20). This statement clearly indicates the complementary relationship that exists between semantics and pragmatics. Mey (1993:55) holds that pragmatics has principles, not rules like syntax. The main principle of pragmatics is the *Communicative Principle*. This principle is based upon the seemingly self-evident fact that people normally talk with the intention to communicate. Whether they do communicate what they want is, of course,

an entirely different matter. What is clear, however, is that this Communicative Principle entails the study of meaning. If people have the intention to communicate, we must assume that they want to communicate meaning. Here is where pragmatics adds a complication in the form of another principle, as expressed in the assertion by Leech (1983:9) that speakers often “mean to say more than they say.” This “meaning more than they say” is hardly measurable within the context of the CA theory. What this principle does make explicit, however, is the need to investigate language-in-use, instead of language-in-isolation.

At the same time it should be noted that the need for considering pragmatics as an autonomous approach to the text is self-evident in a structuralist semantic theory since this theory naturally takes its point of reference within the intrinsic structures of a language, not in any referential point outside of it. This excludes the crucial perspective of language use which often determines to a large extent the full semantic significance of an utterance. The need for an exclusive pragmatic perspective is redundant in cognitive linguistics, since it takes by definition an inherently pragmatic perspective. Pragmatics thus only complements “the contribution that semantics makes to meaning” (Levinson, quoted by Sinclair, 1995: 522).

2.4.4. CA and cognitive linguistics

This complementary view of semantics and pragmatics is also the perspective from which I want to discuss and develop the theoretical frame of reference of this investigation. However, we should consider the fact that context also subsumes linguistic elements. In simple terms, we also have to consider what precedes and follows the text, and attention should also be given to the syntactic conditions in which the lexical items play their part. If we broadly define structuralism as linguistic theory ‘which focuses on an isolated investigation of the language system (Bussmann, 1996:457)’, it is clear that my approach moves away from that position. Lyons (1995:107) even states that CA “might seem incompatible with structuralism.”⁸ So it is not surprising that an attempt is made here to connect CA with other linguistic perspectives as well. For a full description and analysis of the lexical items we have to go beyond research that deals only with the internal linguistic relations. Cognitive aspects are definitely involved since I take the position that language is not a separate and isolated module in the brain, but functions within the total framework of the human cognitive system. An important challenge will be to make the tool of componential analysis of meaning, which is, as stated above, generally seen as a fruit of structuralist linguistics (Bussmann, 1966:457), operate within a cognitive framework.

⁸ This is in sharp contrast with Goerling (2000:8) who notes that “CA is a brainchild of structuralism,” without substantiating this claim.

As I already indicated in section 2.2.1., the theoretical claim of structuralism on CA is not undisputed. Especially from the standpoint of cognitive anthropologists, there are rather convincing arguments that demonstrate that CA belongs to the cognitive tradition. This position emanates from the views held among cognitive cultural anthropologists about culture. Culture is not seen as an independent entity that has objective existence outside the minds of people. "Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, peoples, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, reacting and otherwise interpreting them" (Goodenough, 1957:36). This view shows that cognitive anthropologists perceive everything in the area of cognition to be interrelated. Language, therefore, cannot exist as an independent module, operating separately from human cognition at a purely linguistic level of conceptualization. It involves other areas, such as psychology, cultural anthropology, categorization and the like. Such a position is well expressed by Tylor when he says that

a culture consists of many semantic domains organized around numerous features of meaning, and no two cultures share the same set of semantic domains or features of meaning, nor do they share the same methods of organizing these features (1969:11).

Given the cross-cultural perspective of the present study, this observation is very relevant. It shows exactly where the problems of a comparative word study are to be located: in the incongruity of the semantic domains or features of meaning. It raises the more general question of translatability, which will need to be addressed at some point. At the same time it provides a much broader basis for the analysis of all features involved in producing meaning. It does not narrow the question down to a purely linguistic one, as is generally done in structuralism, but it forces us to also look into other fields of study. "Meaning does not exist in a vacuum" (Palmer, 1996:8). At the same time we need to study cautiously what it is that constitutes this 'non-vacuum' in which meaning exists. Where is the borderline? A careful study of the anthropological issues involved appears to have priority. Culture has a decisive impact on the formation of classification and categorization in human cognition. Which factors are involved in these fields and how do they relate to each other from a cross-cultural perspective? This warrants a separate investigation to complement the current one. However, in this study I want to demonstrate how these areas of investigation can be drawn together in a meaningful way, informing the study of semantics and making use of the tool of componential analysis of meaning. To make this possible I will return (in Section 3) to the discussion of semantic theory in general, or specifically to the more recent developments of semantics, considering how

applications to CA can be made. But first we want to consider the evaluation of CA in light of the criticisms that have been raised from various sides.

2.5. Problems in CA

2.5.1 Introduction

In the preceding discussion it has become evident that there has been criticism of CA from different angles in varying degrees. In this paragraph I will first describe the main objections that have been raised in the literature and then add a brief evaluation of their implications for this study.

2.5.2. Criticism in the literature

The literature on CA is extensive. Not surprisingly, the appraisal of CA varies with the linguistic perspective of the authors. In order to reduce this to manageable proportions I will summarize it in short points, starting with the positive comments⁹:

- CA is an attempt to put semantic field theory on a sounder theoretical and methodological footing.
- CA is useful in that in such an analysis the indigenous categories are derived from an emic analysis of the way the mother-tongue speakers discriminate things in their world rather than by imposing categories from the outside.
- CA provides linguists, in principle, with a systematic and economical means of representing the sense-relations that hold among lexemes in particular languages and, on the assumptions that the referential components are universal, across languages.
- CA is indispensable as a heuristic instrument in linguistic analysis of any type.

On a more critical note I list the following observations:

- The logical principles said to underlie a folk classification are those of the Western ethnographer, not the mother-tongue speaker.
- There are few examples of the analysis of abstract concepts.
- CA explains a set of symbols by using another set of symbols. The choice of criteria is an arbitrary one. It suffers from a vicious circle.

⁹ The comments in this paragraph are largely based on Lyons (1977), Leech (1983), Geeraerts (1986), Sweetser (1987:43), De Stadler (1989), D'Andrade (1995), Foley (1997), Lyons (1997), Saeed (1997), and Cruse (2000:254-261).

- The scholarly metalanguage is arbitrary and hence unsystematic. It is not anchored in reality, so it remains circular. And why should English, or any other natural language, have privileged status as a metalanguage for the semantic analysis of all languages?
- The meaning of lexical items is an abstract concept that is often ‘fuzzy’ (not definable in terms of concrete semantic categories and relations) and therefore non-exact. CA does not handle this satisfactorily. This also has implications for the distinctive features. If the larger concepts are ‘fuzzy’, the constituent features cannot be exact.
- CA is too crude and ignores nuances of meaning.
- There are many lexical contrasts which do not appear to be dichotomous. And even a straightforward dichotomous contrast presents the analyst with various problems.
- A further difficulty with feature-notation is that it cannot naturally represent the distinction between complementarity and antonymy without failing to represent also the similarity between these two kinds of dichotomous contrast.
- The importance of dichotomous lexical opposition in language is such that it is counterintuitive, to say the least, to treat complementarity as being no different in kind from multiple equipollent [parallel/complementary] contrast, even though it may be satisfactory enough from a purely formal point of view to do this.

The most devastating comments come from van Eynde (1981). He states that “decomposition into semantic features is not an appropriate method for representing word meanings, due to the fact that it is based on an unrealistic theory of meaning” (4). He calls it unrealistic because he sees meaning as a process of referring, composite of two relations: “the relation sign – meaning, which is a conventional and arbitrary one, and the relation meaning – referent, which can be characterized as an exemplification or...as an abstraction” (3). CA cannot possibly cover these two relations. He summarizes its two main deficiencies as follows:

1. It cannot provide complete lexical decomposition for all lexical items of a natural language in terms of a finite stock of semantic primitives.
2. The conceptual system that it represents is characterized by such a high degree of idealization that it cannot function as a link between language and reality. ...I believe that semantic feature theory can attain neither descriptive nor explanatory adequacy as a theory of meaning (12).

2.5.3. Implications

If we consider each of the criticisms carefully, it should be noted in the first place that they are mostly based on the assumption that CA is a theory explaining natural language, although a number of specific points focus on certain technical aspects of the implementation of the analytical tool. Van Eynde (1981) states this most clearly when he says that CA is “an unrealistic

theory of meaning.” Yet, it is also clear that CA is considered by others as “an indispensable heuristic instrument” in spite of the “presumable failure of CA in its purest form with regard to the construction of an autonomous semantics” [translation my own] (Geeraerts, 1986:114). In view of these comments, it is important to de-link CA from its language-theoretical constraints and consider it as a tool to be used in the description of certain semantic elements, not necessarily restricted to binary oppositions.

Secondly, in Sections 2.3.3. (on CA and universals) and 2.4.4. (on CA and cognitive linguistics) I have already clarified my position with regard to the presumed underlying theoretical framework of CA. I share the objections raised against the theoretical framework underlying CA in its initial stages of development. However, as I also made clear in the discussion of the theoretical framework, I do not see CA as intrinsically related only to the structuralist linguistic approach. I have demonstrated that its stage of development may well be considered as a preparatory phase in the development towards a cognitive approach. One of the attractive aspects of CA is the fact that it is able to incorporate different theoretical viewpoints. In Section 3. I will discuss how it relates to the more recent linguistic theories.

Thirdly, the issue of universalism plays an important role in the evaluations. For Lyons (1977) this is crucial for CA:

It has yet to be demonstrated that sense-components of the kind that linguists have tended to invoke in their analysis of the meaning of lexemes play any part in the production and interpretation of language utterances; and, if the allegedly more basic sense-components cannot be shown to have any psychological validity, much of the initial attraction of CA disappears (333).

The question is whether this can be demonstrated for any theory of meaning. Apart from that, my position on the issue of universals was made clear in 2.2.3. These are of little practical significance for the present study, because of their limited contextual relevance both in linguistic and anthropological terms. At the same time this does not mean that “much of the initial attraction of CA disappears.” That would indeed be the case if CA were considered a comprehensive theory of meaning, based exclusively on structuralist assumptions.

The observation that universals are of little practical significance has serious implications for a fourth point that indirectly follows from these critical notions. To what extent should dynamic/functional equivalence still be considered as a valid translation theory? Given the significance of the assumed universals in the process of translation at various levels, it needs to be revisited in the light of current linguistic thinking. In this study I have to restrict myself to this observation. The point will have to be elaborated elsewhere.

On the other hand, it should be recognized that in the area of lexicography a major step forward has been made by developing a lexicon based on semantic domains. The advantage is that it does not focus on alternative glosses, but it rather provides definitions that indicate the way lexical items function in a particular context. This widens the cross-cultural scope of lexicography tremendously.

A final point to be noted here is the apparent element of contradiction between the positive and negative evaluations. On the one hand CA is seen as an emic way of looking at things. Categories are not imposed from the outside. On the other hand it is observed that logical principles underlying the classifications are those of the Western ethnographer, not those of the mother-tongue speakers. Here we should carefully distinguish between the categories and the principles behind them. The categories (such as in kinship relations or colour terms) appear to arise out of the data without imposition from the ethnographer. The description of the principles is a fruit of a modern scientific approach. This does not necessarily disqualify the methodology, as long as sufficient precaution against imposing the categories is taken. The existence of the categories could be considered as a sign of what I called universal processes in the cognitive system of human beings in Section 2.3.3. This is an issue to be taken up again in Section 3.

3. Recent linguistic developments in CA

Section 2.5.2. has given a broad picture of the present prevailing criticisms of CA. One of them, connected with the question of language universals, leads us into a discussion about the relationship: language – world view. This subject will have to be considered in a separate investigation. Other issues, such as the limited scope of CA and the problem of fuzzy sets will be taken up here.

Few attempts have been made thus far to reconsider the usefulness of CA for the semantic description of lexical items in the light of more recent developments in linguistics. This explains the fact that generally CA is considered as belonging to outdated linguistic theories. In this paragraph I will describe the line of development of CA from its initial stages and suggest ways in which it may benefit from present thinking about linguistic categorization and cognitive processes.

I will first briefly discuss a theoretical model that deliberately links itself with generative linguistics and hence with structuralism on one side. On the other, it tries to link itself with cognitive science, since one of the basic theses states: “to study semantics *is* to study cognitive psychology” (Jackendoff, 1983:3). The theory also specifically discusses the issue of lexical semantics. This theory is generally known as conceptual semantics.

3.1. Conceptual semantics

The theory of conceptual semantics has been developed by Jackendoff (1983, 1990, and 1992). That it should be seen as representative of structuralism is based on his self-confessed commitment to generative linguistics when he states that “an important boundary of my enterprise is that it be in all respects compatible with the world view of generative linguistics (1990:8). This does not mean, however, that he slavishly follows everything that has been proposed by Chomsky, who is seen as the founder of generative linguistics. He makes that clear when he says, “I diverge from Chomsky’s practice in not treating syntax as *the* principle generative component of grammar from which phonology and meaning are interpreted” (1996:96). In fact Jackendoff calls his theory of meaning “in many respects congenial to cognitive linguistics” (1996:96). He considers language as “one of the languages of the mind. The one that has been studied most” (1992:4). Jackendoff is not strictly generative in his approach in that he adopts the hypothesis “that one’s stock of lexical concepts is constructed from an innate basis of possible concepts, modulated by the contribution of linguistic and non-linguistic experience” (1990:10). Apart from linguistic experience, there is also non-linguistic experience that plays a role in explaining meaning. This allows for contextual, psychological and cultural aspects to play a role in the explanation of semantic theory.

The central principle of the theory of conceptual semantics is the assumption that the description of meaning involves the description of mental process. He proposes the so-called mentalist postulate: meaning in natural language is an information structure that is mentally encoded by human beings. “Word meanings must be treated as internalized mental representations” (Jackendoff, 1983:109).

In line with generative linguistics Jackendoff proposes a set of universal semantic categories and, as Wierzbicka (see Section 2.3.3.) he assumes the existence of a finite set of universals, which he calls “a set of mental primitives” (1990:9). This set of mental primitives is connected with a “finite set of principles of mental combination” (1990:9), the conceptual well-formedness rules. The primitives and the rules are supposedly innate, finite in number and universal. The combination of these two sets (of mental primitives and of principles of mental combination) describes the set of possible I-concepts. The term I-concept stands for Internal concept, chosen in analogy with Chomsky’s I-language which is the focus of his scientific investigations. It entails the internally encoded body of information.

On CA, or, as Jackendoff calls it, decompositional theories, he takes a position that is different from the ‘classical’ approach. He rejects the notion that the meaning of a word can be

exhaustively decomposed into a finite set of conditions that are collectively necessary and sufficient to determine the reference of a word. He also does not accept the need to state the satisfaction conditions in terms of a finite set of semantic/conceptual primitives. Instead he sees the need for three sorts of conditions to adequately specify word meanings:

First, we cannot do without *necessary* conditions...Second, we need graded conditions to designate hue in color, for example. These conditions specify a focal or central value for a continuously variable attribute... I will call those *centrality* conditions. Third, we need conditions that are typical but subject to exceptions—for instance, the element of competition in games... Bundles of such *typicality* conditions lead to the family resemblance phenomena (1983:121).

This leads to a final point that needs to be mentioned in this brief overview, the treatment of categorization. He has proposed a variety of mechanisms to account for fuzziness, graded concepts, stereotypes, family-resemblance phenomena, and basic level categories. In doing this he makes use of psychology, philosophy and computer science. For example, to explain the semantic phenomenon of grouping, he builds on the cognitive constraint (1983:128), while he explains fuzziness from a philosophical perspective as “an inescapable characteristic of the concepts that language expresses. To attempt to define it out of semantics is only evasion” (1983:117).

3.2. Cognitive linguistics and categorization

3.2.1. Introduction

Among the problems of CA from a structuralist perspective, some attention has been paid to the fact that, it has a fairly limited scope. Lexical items can be organized in semantic domains, but there is no explanation for “fuzziness”. By implication lexical items are either members, or non-members, of a domain. There is nothing in between. This also means that all members of a domain have equal status within the particular semantic field.¹⁰ Along the same lines it follows that the referents of the lexical items also have equal status. This is the reason why some have called this approach “the checklist theory” (Lyons, 1996:99). Human experience, however, teaches us that reality is not always organized in such a clear and neat way that everything either fits, or does not fit, in a certain category.

¹⁰ It should be noted that this problem was not neglected by proponents of CA. Nida (1979:192) states that “it is relatively easy to decide what items are central to a domain, but there are many complications in drawing the boundaries between domains.” However, this observation does not lead to conclusions with regard to the value of a particular lexical item within a domain in relation to other lexical items.

Cognitive linguists and anthropologists have amassed evidence for universal processes by which humans build cognitive models, schematize experience, categorize concepts, and construe scenes. At the same time they have demonstrated that there is immense variation in the ways that people build, schematize, link, and construe, as seen in the marvelous variety of world languages and cultures (Palmer, 1996:117).

In this paragraph the problem of grouping words together, categorization, is discussed in greater detail. The issue of categorization is precisely the area in which cognitive linguistics is developing its theory, “if anything at all, Cognitive Linguistics is a theory about categorization in and through language” (Geeraerts et al., 1994:13). Lakoff says “there is nothing more basic than categorization to our thought, perception, action, and speech” (1987:5). Or in the words of MacWhinney, “Categorization is everywhere” (1989:195). Elsewhere Geeraerts (1989:591) states that prototype theory¹¹ has developed into cognitive linguistics. In this sense it can also be seen as a logical sequence to the development of CA which attached great importance to the discussion of semantic domains, a form of linguistic categorization that suffers from certain deficiencies as was pointed out. At the same time it is important to notice that cognitive linguistics, and hence prototype theory, is still being developed and cannot be considered as a comprehensive theory (Ungerer & Schmid, 1996:278).

3.2.2. Categorization

The experimental work of Rosch (1978), a cognitive psychologist, is fundamental to the theoretical development of categorization. Arguing from the assumption that the human cognitive system is a structure seeking device, she developed an interesting theory of prototypes. She based herself on the premise of basic terms such as discovered in the research on colour terms (Berlin & Kay, 1969. See Section 2.1.). The generics, or basic level terms, correspond to psychological basic level objects. These objects are perceived and remembered not as a list of features, but as a gestalt or configurational whole. She based her argument on two main propositions:

1. The category system of humans and animals is characterized by an attempt to provide maximum information with the least cognitive effort;
2. The perceived world consists of structured information rather than a random or arbitrary collection of attributes (or features) (D’Andrade, 1995:115).

¹¹ The term *prototype* was introduced by Rosch and stands for “artificially created best examples (Ungerer & Schmid (1996:10).” The advantage of the term “was that it made it much easier to extend the notion of foci beyond colour categories,” according to Ungerer and Schmid (1996:10).

If we compare this approach, which is commonly called prototype theory, with the points mentioned in Section 3.2.1. with regard to structuralism, the differences are striking. As was already said, the theory is still being developed, but the characteristics can be summarized as follows¹²:

1. Categories have a centre and a periphery, so not all members have the same status.
2. Cultural and individual systems of thought are made up of more than just a list of features and or attributes varying in salience.
3. The categories cannot be defined by means of a single set of criterial attributes.
4. Features are grouped together into object-like things, making for greater cognitive efficiency in categorization.
5. The objects can be extended to cover instances which have some commonality with prototypic examples of the category.
6. Categories do not represent arbitrary divisions of the phenomena of the world but should be seen as based on the cognitive capacities of the human mind.
7. Cognitive categories are anchored in conceptually salient prototypes, which play a crucial part in the formation categories.
8. The boundaries of cognitive categories are fuzzy.
9. Between prototypes and boundaries, cognitive categories contain members which can be rated on a typicality scale ranging from "near" to "far" examples.
10. The categories exhibit a family-resemblance structure. Their semantic structure takes the form of a radial set of clustered and overlapping meanings.

In terms of the attribute structure of prototype, Ungerer & Schmid (1996: 29) give the following summary:

1. Prototypical members of cognitive categories have the largest number of attributes in common with other members of the category and the smallest number of attributes which also occur with members of neighbouring categories. This means that in terms of attributes, prototypical members are maximally distinct from the prototypical members of other categories.
2. Bad [I prefer "peripheral"] examples (or marginal category members) share only a small number of attributes with other members of their category, but have several attributes which belong to other categories as well, which is, of course, just another way of saying that the category boundaries are fuzzy.

From these descriptions it is obvious that prototype theory has a much higher degree of flexibility and precision than the rather rigid and general categories that are typical of the classical form of

¹² Based on Lakoff (1987), Corrigan (1989), Geeraerts (1989), D'Andrade (1995), Taylor (1995), Ungerer & Schmid (1996), Thelen (1999), and Goerling (2000).

CA. The prototype categories are not fixed and are therefore more sensitive to context. By definition they depend largely on cultural knowledge as far as their internal structure is concerned. The idea of semantic universals, which was one of the problematic aspects of the classical CA approach, has no validity at all in prototype theory since the cognitive models depend on the culture in which persons live. The strength of the theory is that on the one hand it offers sufficient structural stability to be a workable phenomenon; on the other hand it offers sufficient flexibility to incorporate the many contextual constraints on human cognition. Meaning is not language-internal, but “meanings are cognitive structures, embedded in patterns of knowledge and belief” (Taylor, 1995:83).

3.2.3. Other types of categorization

Different terms are used for the different concepts of categorization, particularly as the development of prototype theory moved toward a more complex level of category structure. Gradually the conviction gained ground that the structure of human cognition is more complicated than what had been established with the development of prototype theory. The labels attached to these more elaborate and complex structures show great diversity: field, frame, contrast, perspective, scene, story, scenario and script (Kittay & Lehrer, 1992:3-7; D’Andrade, 1995:122; Taylor, 1995: 59-91; Ungerer & Schmid, 1996:140, 206-207). These terms do not usually refer to the same concepts, and when two authors agree on the use of one term, the definitions they employ may differ considerably. In fact “it is not even clear that it is possible to make clean conceptual distinctions in this area” (Taylor, 1995:87). This makes the theory rather difficult to explain. In this paragraph I will discuss some relevant concepts and present them to the extent they have been developed in a verifiable fashion. Fields will not be discussed further, since this virtually coincides with semantic domains.

3.2.3.1. Schema

D’Andrade (1995:122) takes “schema” as the term on which some consensus has developed in the description of structures that are more complex than prototypes, and indeed, the concept is developed by several authors. Langacker defines it as follows:

A schema...is an abstract characterization that is fully compatible with all members of the category it defines (so membership is not a matter of degree); it is an integrated structure that embodies the commonality of its members, which are conceptions of greater specificity and detail that elaborate the schema in contrasting ways (1987:371).

What this definition means in practice has been further described by Taylor (1995:66):

If one examines more closely the distinction between categorization by prototype and categorization by schema, it becomes clear that [these categorizations] are in reality aspects of the same phenomenon. In the former case, an entity happens to be fully compatible with an abstract representation, in the latter case, it is only partially compatible. Whether in any particular instance the analyst invokes a prototype or a schema would appear to depend on the degree of abstractness which he is willing to attribute to a speaker's mental representation.

Looking at schema from this perspective, it is hard to see what it adds to the already existing prototype theory, other than the personal preference of an analyst to work on a more or less abstract level. However, D'Andrade (1995:122) ascribes more significance to the concept as a distinct type of category: "schemas are abstract representations of environmental regularities." They can be hierarchically structured and do indeed work on a more abstract level. They are open-ended and can be modified, extended, and linked with other schemas on the basis of one's experience of past and present circumstances. They supposedly function in so-called connectionist networks. Internalization of cognition is then not seen as absorbing a set of instructions. It is a matter of building up associative links among significant aspects of one's experience. An important implication of this perspective has a direct bearing on the present study, because

words signify schemas, which means that the units activated by a particular speech sound also activate a larger pattern of connections which are the active schema for a particular experience. The sounds of words are like "pointers" to patterns of experience—indices to internal mental structures, not "veils" between reality and experience (D'Andrade, 1995:149).

It is clear that this approach lifts lexical investigation to a more abstract level in which the cognitive structure and the way it organizes knowledge and experience in a particular context can be analyzed on the basis of invoking the features of schema.

3.2.3.2. Frame

Another concept that is relevant to the scope of this study is "frame". The term covers the area that in classical theory used to be covered by the term "encyclopedic knowledge". In traditional CA terminology this is also called "supplementary components", i.e. components which are not diagnostic for a particular lexical item in a given context, but which are part of general knowledge (Nida, 1979:35). In cognitive linguistics different definitions are employed. Taylor (1995:87) summarizes frames as follows:

Frames constitute 'global patterns' of 'common sense knowledge about some central concept', such that the lexical item denoting the concept typically evokes the whole frame. In essence, frames are static configurations of knowledge.

It appears that the interplay of schemas with prototypes and schemas is complementary. Together these terms help to develop a complete picture of the structures of human cognition, in so far as the semantic aspects are concerned. However, other linguists have taken the concept of frame a few steps further and developed it into, what they call “frame semantics”. A brief characterization of frame semantics is that

a word’s meaning can be understood only with reference to a structured background of experience, beliefs, or practices, constituting a kind of conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning. Speakers can be said to know the meaning of the word only by first understanding the background frames that motivate the concept that the word encodes (Fillmore & Atkins, 1992:77).

This theory is apparently a prescriptive one. It seems to determine the criteria to be fulfilled before a speaker can be assumed to understand the meaning of a word. This may be a valid approach when definitions for a lexicon have to be formulated, but not for the purpose of analyzing utterances by speakers or writers. It is not the task of the analyst to determine whether the speaker has indeed understood the meaning of his/her utterance. Before we dismiss this concept as irrelevant though, we should look at some elements in the frame concept that are very significant for the analysis of lexical items as they are used by the speakers. Taylor describes frames elsewhere more moderately as “configurations of culture-based conventionalized knowledge” (1995:89). Ungerer & Schmid call the frame “the configuration of interacting categories” (1996:206). This is quite different from the formal prerequisite for knowing meaning in the definition of Fillmore & Atkins. How can this concept become significant for analytical purposes? An example, borrowed from Fillmore by Ungerer & Schmid (1996:206) clarifies the point. When using the English verb *to buy*, “the action category BUY includes a reference to at least four other categories, namely to a BUYER, a SELLER, GOODS and MONEY.” In other words, the description of a certain lexical item can be enriched by configurations that are necessarily related to it to a greater or lesser degree. In an analysis of distinctive features this can be a very significant point.

3.2.3.3. Perspective

Finally, we briefly look at one aspect that is easily neglected in categorization, the notion of “perspective”, or “perspectivization”, as Taylor (1995:90) likes to call it. As the term suggests, it is basically concerned with the viewpoint from which a lexical item is analyzed semantically. The example BUY from the previous paragraph implies a certain syntactic assignment of roles. In fact

the syntactic assignment is governed by BUY and it changes significantly when BUY is replaced with SELL.

The relevance of the concept is not limited to verbs.

It frequently happens that different uses of a word whose semantic structure is rather complex tend to highlight different components of frame-based knowledge...In many instances, the perspectivization of one component of a frame not only backgrounds other components, the other components are suppressed completely (Taylor, 1995:90).

In CA theory similar observations were made. Depending on the context, components can be diagnostic in one case, while the same components are supplementary in another situation. The present discussion only shows that this part of classical theory has not lost its significance. It is an element that also informs the theory of categorization.

3.3. Conclusions

It is clear that the development of cognitive linguistics and, intimately related to it, prototype theory or, in more general terms, linguistic categorization, has a major influence on the way we look at meaning and its relationship to human cognition. Cognitive linguistics has added some "intuitively obvious elements" (Geeraerts, 1989:590) to semantics, particularly in the area of fuzziness, gradient membership of categories and the fact that meaning is a dynamic rather than a static concept. The attractiveness of the theory is well expressed by Geeraerts (1989:591):

This is perhaps the single most appealing characteristic of prototype theory: here at last is a descriptive approach to lexical meaning in which our pretheoretical intuitions about gradedness, fuzziness, flexibility, clustering of senses, etc., receive due attention.

This by no means implies that there are no problems in this theoretical framework. As was noted already, there is still a good deal of obscurity in the area of definitions. Another point is that, in spite of its innovative aspects, there are definitely some elements in classical feature theory that have to be reintroduced in order to explain certain shortfalls. The concept of perspective is a good example, although it should be recognized that there is some added value to it, in the sense that it assumes a higher degree of flexibility, which is generally one of the strongest points in prototype theory.

My final observation may seem contradictory, but there is an immanent danger in prototype theory that a surplus of flexibility and fuzziness might diminish the analytical and descriptive value. The neatness of classical semantic theory was certainly attractive from the analyst's point of view!

Is CA still of any value in light of the developments in cognitive linguistics? This question will be considered in the next paragraph.

4. Prospects of CA in the light of cognitive linguistic theory

4.1. Introduction

From the preceding discussion of different semantic theories it has become clear that none of the current theories offers a fully satisfactory solution to the problem of analysis that I have stated in the introduction. All theories are strong in certain aspects, but show weaknesses in others. These points will not be repeated here. One apparent problem observed in all theories is the fact that none of them has attempted to give a clear analysis of lexical items with an abstract referential meaning. All seem to be looking for examples that explain (and probably fit!) the theory well. Semantics is flooded with examples of concrete terms: colour, kinship, chairs, running vs. jogging, and so on. The specific subject of analysis in this study has, in fact, a number of extra complications:

1. It aims for a distinctive analysis of a number of closely related terms within one semantic domain.
2. The analysis has to be carried out with respect to data that offer a number of significant complications that can put serious constraints on the analysis: only some written documents are available, there is no possibility of feed back from native speakers, major contextual differences in terms of historical circumstances, cultural and religious context, linguistic differences need to be considered.

In view of these complications it is my hypothesis that, while drawing on the insights of modern semantic theories, componential analysis can serve as an analytical tool that will enable me to carry the study to a successful conclusion.

4.2. CA as a tool

In order for CA to be of assistance in the present study, it is essential that it be viewed as a tool only. This appears to be one of the most difficult issues. In most of the discussions of CA it is always connected with the theory of structural semantics. The implications of that connection would make it difficult for CA to be used for analytical purposes in conjunction with other semantic theories. It should be stressed therefore that CA is not to be regarded as an inseparable element of a certain structural kind of feature analysis. This approach means that the features that will be distinguished will be purely descriptive. It also implies that CA as such is not considered

to be a theoretical explanation of meaning. This explanation is provided on the basis of semantic theories. CA, as a descriptive instrument, should be regarded as compatible with different semantic theories. Cruse (2000:261) rightly observes that

'componentiality' is a property of some, but not all aspects of the meaning of some, but not all, words, and should be recognized in semantic descriptions. Of course, if this were accepted, there would be no place for a 'componential theory of meaning'.

Another implication of separating CA from structuralist linguistics is not accepting the presumed existence of universals. This point was extensively discussed under 2.3., but it needs to be reemphasized here that CA does not by definition entail the theoretical assumption of universal semantic primitives. The criteria on which an analysis is based should always be derived from the language that is subject of the analysis. They are always language specific and should not be imposed on the language from outside.

One of the problems in evaluating CA as a tool, rather than as a semantic theory, originates from the fact that cognitive linguistics was often defined in contrast with feature analysis. However, it is important to note that from the side of cognitive linguists there is recognition of the fact that CA has its strengths in certain areas. Grandy (1992:110) notes that CA "fares well in accounting for containment relations...and for pairs of antonyms, where one can postulate that one of the antonyms is simply (the other)." Elsewhere he comments that CA "is aimed at an important facet of language, namely the recurrence both within and across languages of many important concepts" (1992:111). This comment moves precisely into the direction in which I intend to apply the tool.

Geeraerts (1989:588) is particularly strong in his expression of the significant role of CA.

The prototypists' reaction against this featural approach had, however, the negative side effect of creating the impression that prototypical theories rejected any kind of componential analysis. This is a misconception for the simple reason that there can be no semantic description without some sort of decompositional analysis. As a heuristic tool for the description and comparison of lexical meanings, a componential analysis retains its value (a value that, incidentally, it did not acquire with the advent of componential analysis as an explicit semantic theory, but one that had been obvious to lexicographers from time immemorial).

This statement is also an obvious attempt to liberate CA from its ideological (or rather structural) baggage that is often assumed by many linguists. As Geeraerts points out, "it is not the use of decomposition as a descriptive instrument that causes concern, but the status attributed to the featural analysis" (1989:588). This is precisely the point at which I am aiming. It would clearly be an unnecessary loss to semantic analysis as such if CA were rejected simply because of the fact

that it was a prominent element in a particular semantic theory. CA has the capacity to be language-theoretically neutral, hence it can be applied under different linguistic perspectives.

4.3. The application of CA as a tool

Before looking at new ways in which CA can be applied, it is good to reiterate that, for the purpose of my investigation it will also be used in areas where it is traditionally strong:

- The description of differences between lexical items in terms of presence, significance, and distribution of semantic components within a given language.
- The description of the internal structure of semantic domains, and, as described in 2.2.3.2., of lexicons.
- The cross-cultural applications of its findings. Note should be taken here, that the cross-cultural application again is not based on the assumption of semantic universals. It assumes that CA is able to make a clear analysis on the basis of parameters arising out of a particular language, culture, and world view. By doing so, it should offer possibilities of comparing two different systems. The basis for equivalence will be relative to the parameters set by the specific language concerned. In this particular case, negative moral behaviour will be described and analyzed within the criteria set by the cultural system from which it emanates.
- The construction of taxonomies that reflect the perspective of the language and culture concerned.
- The application of its results in the area of cross-cultural communication, in this case particularly in the area of Hebrew lexicography.

Furthermore, the improved and extended categories described in 2.2.4.2. should be applied in the research in order to prevent a number of the problems that are signaled under 2.5.

Much attention will have to be paid to the application and development of the tool of CA in new directions, more specifically in the area of cognitive linguistics, which, as I have pointed out, provides the basic theoretical framework for the investigation of the lexical items. CA will be employed in certain areas where it was not used before. This implies that the investigation will also be a testing ground for the validity of the hypothesis expressed in the introduction of this paragraph, viz. that, while drawing on the insights of modern semantic theories, componential analysis can serve as an analytical tool that will enable me to carry the study to a successful conclusion.

The application of CA will therefore be in the following areas:

- The status of a lexical item within a specific semantic category will be determined in relation to the centre of the category. This will be expressed in terms of a scale. Jackendoff's centrality and typicality conditions will have to be considered here as well.
- Connected with the previous point is the scaling of the salience of particular attributes within the lexical items.
- The range of near and far membership with regard to semantic relationship has to be expressed, as well as the relative degree of commonality.
- The degree of semantic overlap among the lexical items and adjacent categories has to be indicated.
- The attributes that determine prototypicality of members of cognitive categories can be treated in a way similar to that in classical CA.
- The structure of selected schemas, the way they activate and relate to other schemas needs to be expressed.
- Frames will play a prominent part in the application of CA. The way interacting categories in the frames relate to negative moral behaviour affect the semantic analysis will be a crucial element of the investigation.

Insights from other disciplines, particularly from cultural anthropology will be consistently incorporated as part of my investigation. Given the complicated nature of the exercise, it is clear that several types of CA will have to be carried out. It will also be impossible to summarize it all within one type of CA. Different formats (binary oppositions, scales, taxonomies, etc.) will have to be used.

Chapter 3

WORLD VIEW

1. Introduction

The translation of the lexical items that are the subject of this study needs to be considered from different perspectives. In the previous chapter I focused on semantic theory by developing a theoretical framework that is flexible enough to accommodate the differences emanating from the fact that in the translation from Hebrew into a receptor language we deal with two entirely different linguistic systems. It was demonstrated that, in general, the cognitive approach offers the most promising possibilities of a clear and precise analysis. It takes these differences into account in such a way that through a modified application of componential analysis of meaning it is possible to make a comparison across the borderlines of these linguistic differences. It should be noted that in order to accomplish this, componential analysis needs some modifications and extensions beyond its traditional scope.

With respect to more recent literature it is also recognized that the traditional approaches in biblical studies did not always yield the legitimate results that one was hoping for (Gordon, 1995; Carter & Meyers, 1996; McNutt, 1999). This was partly due to a high degree of overspecialization in one particular field without proper integration with other disciplines. Increasingly one has turned in recent years to the social sciences in particular (Rogerson, 1978; Gottwald, 1980, 1993; Lang, 1985; Clements, 1989; Mayes, 1989; Matthews & Benjamin, 1993; Blenkinsopp, 1995:392/3) in order to “free the study of ancient Israel from the theological agenda that has provided the foundation for much of biblical scholarship” (Carter, 1996:4). This development is not entirely new or revolutionary (Smith 1894; Weber, 1952 [original date of publication: 1917-19]), but only since the last two or three decades there has been a more systematic application of sociological and anthropological models (McNutt, 1999:20-32). Attention has also been drawn to some of the difficulties of applying theories emanating from social sciences to “defective information or data resistant to such theories” (Carroll, 1989:205). However, it should be noted that much of Carroll’s reluctance is based on his remarkable assumption that in the shift from orality to literacy prophecy has been removed from its social setting “to a decontextualized, timeless setting” (208), thereby positing that “the word is now context free (208)!” This wrongly suggests that written literature does not carry any elements of the social settings from which it originates. The criticism of Carroll therefore renders itself irrelevant.

In his application of new approaches to the study of the prophets Deist (1995:597) calls for attention to the questions concerning the “social referents of words like justice, righteousness, sin, iniquity, etc. in the mouth of a prophet like...Isaiah...” He concludes that “another strategy is called for to answer them. And the necessary strategies are being supplied by sociological and anthropological models” (597). It is precisely in this area of anthropological models that I want to describe and analyze some elements that may contribute towards the development of a new approach. The matter becomes even more urgent when Overholt (1996b:425) comments that “the content of the prophecies themselves ... in all cases is culturally conditioned.” It should not be assumed that the book of Isaiah is an exception to this observation.

Bible translation, for one thing, has to be ‘free from the theological agenda’ mentioned above, in order to communicate the biblical text, to the extent possible, without theological prejudice or preconceived ideas about the way it may have been understood by the intended receptors. It is therefore necessary to recognize that translation of lexical items is not merely a matter of linguistics, or, more specifically, of semantic analysis per se. An essential part of the process deals with aspects related to the cross-cultural nature of translation. In other words, the study and analysis of the cultures involved in a particular translation is a crucial part of the procedures. Language is totally embedded in culture and therefore cannot be separated from it. This study deals with the analysis of a number of lexical items belonging to one semantic domain. The way a domain is defined is to a large extent culturally determined. The same applies to the way in which individual lexical items relate to each other. And, at a higher level of organization, to the way a particular domain relates to other domains in a given language and culture. A semantic domain cannot be studied in isolation from other domains. It fits into the entire system of the way a certain culture looks at reality, that is, the way in which it has constructed reality in order to create a mental picture of the ‘world’ in its broadest sense.

In order to provide a clearer view of these aspects, this chapter deals with some anthropological concerns that have to be addressed in the translation of lexical items that constitute a semantic domain. The issues will be discussed in terms of the broader background of the world view of the cultures involved. First, I will draw some general theoretical lines and build a theoretical framework developing world view variables against which the analysis can be made. This will serve as the basis for a more specific world view analysis derived from the information available from the book of Isaiah. A world view analysis of the intended receptor language and culture on the basis of the same variables would also have to be carried out. Finally a comparison of these different world view systems would have to be made.

Before entering into the actual analysis it is appropriate to indicate some delimitations. Neither the description of the culture and world view of 'Isaiah', nor the contemporary one of a receptor language can be a full ethnographic description. I will restrict myself to those aspects that are relevant to the analysis of the particular semantic domain of negative moral behaviour. However, this does not mean that nothing outside the specific domain will be considered.

There are a number of factors that make it impossible to formulate the necessary restrictions rigid and precise:

- The concept of world view contains by definition a high degree of comprehensiveness and integration (as the section on world view theory will show). It is therefore not well possible to completely isolate one aspect without considering other related elements.
- The analysis will show that the concept of God needs to be considered especially carefully. The relationship God-human being touches directly on the nature of the concept of sin.
- The domain of negative moral behaviour is the subject of the analysis, but by implication the opposite should then also be evaluated. What constitutes the opposite of negative moral behaviour in the respective cultures of Isaiah and the receptor language?
- This subject is a central part of the religious subsystem of world view, so this subsystem will need more attention than other aspects.

Furthermore, it is appropriate at the outset to note that there are other factors that complicate the comparative nature of the present exercise. There are several unequal factors that should be mentioned, and possibly also weighed in the analysis:

- The very nature of biblical prophecy puts certain restrictions on the analysis of data from Isaiah.
- All data from Isaiah are drawn from only one particular literary genre, namely poetry in which parallelism is the most prominent poetic device.
- Isaiah addresses a specific historical context or rather, specific historical contexts spread out over a number of centuries, while any receptor language in cross-cultural communication would lack this specific focus and spread over a longer period of time. This point is significant because it may imply that in the book of Isaiah we are not dealing with one particular world view, but rather with differences that emanate from the fact that different historical perspectives and events have impact on a people's current world view. It is important to note "that the Bible does not present a single, uniform world view" (Wendland, 1987:12), and that "Israelite society was not homogeneous and that differing ideologies were in competition" (Rogerson, 1989:25).

2. World view: A theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

Although the concept of world view is well-known and widely used, a general and comprehensive theoretical treatise on the subject is not easy to come by. Sinha and Jensen de López talk about “the notorious difficulty of defining the notion of ‘world view’ ” (2000:27). Several authors mention the concept without elaborating on it, or even without distinguishing it from other related concepts. The most striking example of this lack of distinction is probably Hammond-Tooke (1981), whose study on the structure of Sotho world view seems to be in need of a solid theoretical basis. He treats world view and cosmology as synonymous (xiii), struggles to differentiate world view from the broader concept of “culture” to the extent that it is in danger of becoming indistinguishable from the totality of “culture” (xiii), and then concludes: “yet intuitively one feels that the concept *is* useful...*All in all it is probably better to keep the term vague*” (xiii-xiv. Italics mine). It is obvious that this kind of definition does not sufficiently justify the need for a specific approach from the perspective of world view. Neither does it suggest that a world view perspective adds anything to an analysis of a culture that is not already provided by general cultural anthropology, or more specifically by an ethnographic description. Nevertheless, the significance of the concept is widely recognized. Hill & Mannheim note that “‘world view’ [Humboldt’s *Weltanschauung*], has served anthropology as a term for the philosophical dimensions of ‘cultures’ seen as having a degree of coherence in time and space” (1992:381). A good working definition is provided by Palmer (1996:113-114). When he talks about world view “the term refers to the fundamental cognitive orientation of a society, a subgroup, or even an individual.” How world view should be identified and analyzed is an entirely different question to which I now turn.

2.2. Overview of existing literature

Not surprisingly, most literature available on the subject is in the area of missiology and cross-cultural communication. Some of the authors take the concept for granted and build on it, simply assuming that it exists, but without further developing the theory that underlies it, such as Shaw (1988), Nida (1990), and Smalley (1991:208-213). They mainly use the concept to illustrate the complications of the process of cross-cultural communication. They base their notion of communication on a world view concept that, as I already noted, is assumed to be understood by the reader. For example, Nida who states:

In contrasting cultures we must not, however, restrict our point of view to an assortment of isolated traits. We need to see the differences in their broadest possible perspective, in terms of a people's "worldview," or system of values (1990:58).

Similarly, Shaw (1988:107) states that "worldview provides the basic assumptions upon which the society operates." He also assumes the existence of universals in culture. To this I will return in section 2.3.

Others develop a world view theory or important aspects of it, such as Hiebert (1983), Luzbetak (1989), Kraft (1988) and Wendland (1987). Basically, these authors describe world view as an explanatory model that helps people "to find meaning in existence and to impose order on the world" (Hiebert, 1983:355). The concept goes behind the objects and patterns that can be observed in human behaviour and relates to basic assumptions that underlie human behaviour and that, to a large extent, influence or even determine the values and norms on which such behaviour is based. An important aspect of the concept is the fact that many of these basic assumptions "are implicit, because they are taken for granted and never questioned. Together they form a more or less consistent world view that orders people's experiences and gives meaning to their lives" (Hiebert, 1983:369). The implications of this for the practical application of the concept in ethnographic description are still a bit vague since there are no clear criteria to be used for analytical purposes.

Luzbetak (1989: 252-254) provides the concept with more tools for practical application. He bases his description of world view on theoretical considerations identical to those of Hiebert. In addition he distinguished three dimensions in world view:

1. *The Cognitive Dimension of a World View.* The world view tells the society what to think about life and the world...
2. *The Emotional Dimension of a World View.* A world view also tells the society how it is to feel about, evaluate, and react to the world and all reality...
3. *The Motivational Dimension of World View.* Motivational aspects of a world view are a society's basic priorities, purposes, concerns, ideals, desires, hopes, longings, goals, and drives corresponding to its understanding of the universe.

Another practical application of the world view concept is developed by Kraft (1988:53-63). He distinguishes the following five different functions of world view for a group of people:

1. The first function [of a world view] is the *explanation* of how and why things got to be as they are and how and why they continue to change.
2. [It] serves as an *evaluating*—a judging and validating—function.
3. [It] also provides *psychological reinforcement* for that group.
4. [It] serves as an *integrating* function. It systematizes and orders for them their perceptions of reality into an overall design.

5. [It] does not completely determine the perception of all its members at all times... There is change in this as well as in all other areas of culture. That function may be labeled *adaptational*.

Elsewhere Kraft (1987) pictures world view as the core of a culture influencing the various so-called cultural “subsystems” (38-39). This notion is visualized in Figure 6.

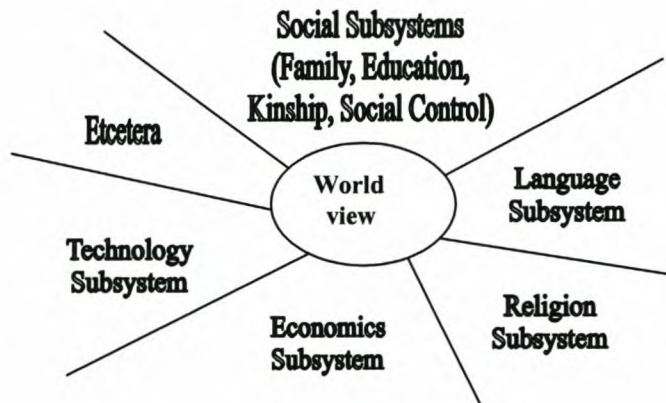


Figure 6: World view and cultural subsystems
(Adapted from Kraft, 1987:38)

The idea of world view as the core of culture is expressed in a different way by Wendland (1987). He makes a distinction between what he calls “two principal components which comprise any of the world’s many cultures: internal and external, or conceptual and behavioral” (6). The second one (external/behavioral) is fairly easy to describe since it is expressed in many explicit and observable ways, but

The *conceptual* component is more basic; it is the core of culture that motivates and organizes all meaningful activity—verbal and nonverbal—and which, in turn, functions as the normative grid to which all socially acceptable behavior must conform. This is the so-called “world (or ‘life’) view” which represents a people’s conception of reality, that is, their understanding of the universe and of man’s place in it. World view, which may or may not have a scientifically “objective” basis, is a cover term that includes a broad assortment of conceptual categories: beliefs, presuppositions, values, norms, ideas, ideals, attitudes, goals, expectations, interests and so forth. The world view, or “mind set,” provides an organizing framework whereby an individual makes sense of the “real word” around him, and it serves as a guide for interpreting reality, which includes words and actions of those with whom he is living (6).

This lengthy quote serves to illustrate that he, and in fact most authors still struggle with the concept of world view. Different equivalents are mentioned: life view, or mind set. The

vagueness of the notion of world view that was already noted by Hammond-Tooke has not disappeared. In fact the concept as it has been presented thus far approximates what Barbour calls "critical realism." He suggests that people construct mental maps of reality which are meant to help one understand the world and to explain phenomena (1974:30). Thus he makes a distinction between an objective and subjective reality. The subjective reality is a mental picture that is created by our observations and experiences of reality. This explains why reality as it is observed by members of one culture differs from the reality observed by members of another culture, or from the reality observed by the ones studying a particular culture. World view, as explained thus far, does not leave this notion of "critical realism" at the level of the individual, but it perceives these same dynamics to be operational at group level, in this case at the level of various cultures. Smith (1982:26-28) develops this idea of 'group level' on the basis of an adapted model of cultural tradition that he bases on a theory proposed by the Pan-Babylonian school, a school which was influential at the beginning of the 20th century. They introduced the notion of a total system, one they called *Weltanschauung*. Smith's model recognizes this totality, but he distinguishes three levels:

1. that of "world view," which is characterized by "imposing uniformity;"
2. that of "culture complex," the particular *Weltbild* or *Gestalt* of a given people; and
3. the linguistic manifestation of the interaction between these two.

The interesting point of Smith's model is obviously the link that he brings in with the "linguistic manifestation." The cohesion between linguistic expression and cultural identity has generally been recognized as a crucial one and can only be separated at the expense of misunderstanding either one of them. As Malina (1986:2) says, "To interpret any piece of language adequately is to interpret the social system it expresses." If the reader has no access to the social system, s/he will supply his/her own meaning to the text, based on a social reality familiar to him/her.

The importance of world view in the analysis of culture has been amply demonstrated. However, up to this point none of the authors has gone beyond the point of trying to describe and illustrate the crucial role of world view in the analysis of a culture, or more specifically in the comparison of different cultures. The more fundamental point, made by Wendland, the argument that world view "may or may not have a scientifically "objective" basis" has not been discussed. This question will be addressed in the following section when I discuss the contribution to the development of world view theory by Kearney (1984). His book is an attempt to provide this "scientifically objective basis." It will, in a slightly modified way, provide the basis for the analysis of world view in Isaiah.

2.3. A world view theory

2.3.1. The problem of universals

How is a world view built up? Of what elements is it comprised? Is there an objective way of carrying out the exercise of identifying, describing and analyzing the world view of a particular culture? In order to be able to do this with a measure of objectivity in the analytical and comparative process, Kearney (1984) brings in the notion of world view universals (65-108). As I already indicated in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2. and 2.3.3., the notion of universals in cross-cultural comparative studies is problematic. However, it should be noted that the way Kearney uses universals is significantly different from the way Goddard and Wierzbicka (1994) use it in the field of semantics. The latter try to prove "that there is indeed a universal alphabet of 'human thoughts', which can be identified via a systematic and methodological study of different languages" (2-3). The result was clearly of no significance for our comparative study (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2.). Similar observations about the possible significance of universals have been made in the field of anthropology. Foley, in a discussion of the symbolic anthropologist Geertz, notes that the latter "does not deny the possibility of human cultural universals, but he believes that if such exist, they must be too abstract and insubstantial to provide much help in the deeper interpretation of the rich tapestries of meanings found in the world's cultures" (1997:17). Kearney does not look for universals that can be identified as a universal alphabet of human cultural behaviour. Rather he uses a limited number of universals as possible dimensions that can be used to describe the world view of a culture and not to prove a common conceptual foundation of all cultures. In fact he says, "the universals...were selected more out of a practical necessity to have some usable categories than out of any sense that they are incontrovertibly the only valid ones" (208). If this qualifying statement that indicates the relativity of the universals had been used at the outset of his argument, the theory would certainly have gained in terms of credibility. In his current approach Kearney still has to grapple with the question whether or not the categories are truly universals (207). Otherwise he could have limited himself to another more relevant question concerning "whether or not they [i.e. the universals he describes] are the most appropriate categories for describing, analyzing, and comparing world views" (207). This last question indeed should be asked and may receive different answers depending on the type of comparison one wants to make. I would therefore like to suggest that we avoid the term 'universals' and instead use 'cultural variables'. These variables can be applied under certain conditions for comparative purposes, and they may have to be modified in other situations. With

this adjustment in the terminology I consider the categories that Kearney suggests and that I will describe in 2.3.3. as acceptable analytical tools for my study.

2.3.2. World view variables

It has become clear that in the development of the theoretical framework for research like the present one, a fairly pragmatic approach is needed in order to accommodate all possible variables that may occur at different levels and in connection with different scientific disciplines that are involved. This is not unique in anthropology, as Samuel (1990:164) observes:

In the present state of our knowledge there are, nevertheless, several theoretical frameworks in most areas of science that do a more or less adequate job in accounting for some data, and none that satisfactorily encompass all possible data. This is likely always to be the case, though the specific frameworks at issue will change. We, therefore, have no choice but to apply other criteria in choosing between them.

When Samuel talks of ‘the best theory’ he only means “best out of what we have available at present for the particular purposes and demands that we have in mind” (1990:164). Similarly Overholt in his discussion of anthropological approaches to the study of the Old Testament says, “the ‘best’ theory will account for the data in a way that seems to enhance our understanding of it” (1996:5).

With this in mind I will largely follow the world view model that was developed by Kearney (1984:65-121). This will be the frame of reference for the data from the book of Isaiah in the next chapter. It is important to note that “models provide the frame of reference for assessing which data are relevant, the quality of the data, and the relationship between the data” (Simkins, 1994:16).

2.3.2.1. Classification

The first variable of six has already been discussed extensively in Chapter 2. There is a tendency among peoples to classify reality according to specific categories that may or may not be particular to their culture. People usually name objects and even abstract entities (such as the Hebrew terms for the domain of negative moral behaviour) and fit them into larger more general categories. The criteria to form these categories may differ from one culture to the other. They provide essential insight into the cognitive organization of a culture.

2.3.2.2. *Self and Other*

These two variables in the world view provide the members of a culture with an understanding of the nature of the human universe and the way one deals with internal and external relationships. To what extent is the presence of a *Self* discernibly different from its environment which is then categorized as *Other*? This involves two important aspects. The first one considers the awareness of being distinct from the environment. The second, the way in which one relates to it. It should be noted that environment is not necessarily non-human.

2.3.2.3. *Relationship*

It follows from the discussion of *Self* and *Other* that *Relationship* is another crucial variable to be identified in world view. It is given by the necessary interaction between the two. This interaction does not only exist between *Self* and *Other*, but also with the other categories in the model. *Relationship* and images thereof from the past, also in terms of collective experience, will have influence on behaviour and the strategies one applies in interacting with the *Other* and the environment, both physical and spiritual.

2.3.2.4. *Causality*

The questions of power or cause need to be addressed. What are the forces at work in the society, and at an individual level, and in the universe? The existence of ritual in society is a clear indication of the relevance of these questions. Ritual tries to provide the society with an answer to questions such as: How are these forces perceived? Is the perception personal, divine, or both? And how can they be influenced? What is the relationship between causes and effects? The *Causality* variable should provide insight into this aspect of world view.

2.3.2.5. *Time*

The *Time* variable is most visibly expressed in the way languages mark tense, though there are also other ways of designating temporal relations. Issues can be discussed out of time. There may be ways to deal with issues of the past as well as considering the present or anticipating the future. What ways are employed to do this? Is myth an important way to discuss past events, or is it through a linear concept of history?

2.3.2.6. *Space*

Does a specific world view provide the members of a culture with certain assumptions about *Space* or more precisely location? How does a culture deal with notions of distance and direction?

Is a certain *Space* accessible to all? What are the criteria in deciding accessibility and viewpoint? This variable provides the guidelines within a world view as to how one relates to these issues in a culturally acceptable and understandable manner.

2.3.3. Integration and adaptation of world view variables

In order to devise a practical model that by approximation mirrors reality, one must also show the inter-relatedness of the different variables. The heavy lines on the figure below indicate the most direct relationships.

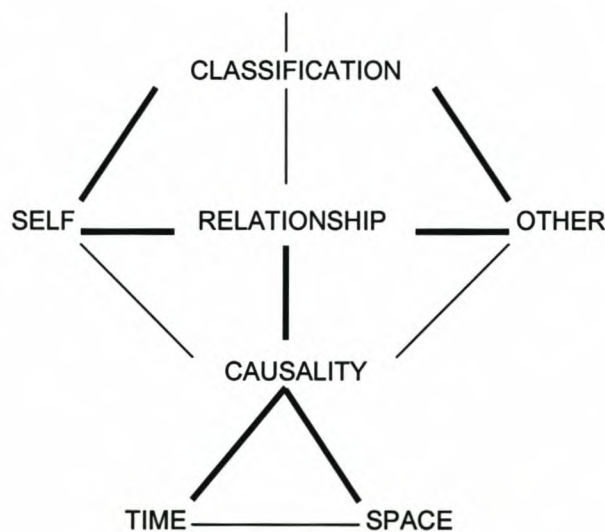


Figure 7: Integration of world view variables
(Kearney 1984:106)

Although the model clearly shows the fact that there is a high degree of inter-relatedness, it seems to me that the actual situation is much more dynamic than this diagram is able to convey, certainly when a cross-cultural comparison is the subject of investigation. The inter-relatedness varies and is, in my opinion, not as static as the diagram of Figure 7 seems to suggest. The diagram suggests that no direct relationship exists between *Time* and *Space* on one side and *Classification* on the other, while it seems to me that the perception of *Time* and *Space* are essential elements in the *Classification* and, more in general, the organization of a culture. The diagram also fails to point out some of the other relationships clearly. It is not clear why *Time* and *Space* are almost outside the main body of the diagram, while they are crucial variables in the description of the various aspects of any world view. In addition to this the use of the so-called 'heavy lines' is debatable. The diagram does not say anything about the degree of 'directness'

between *Causality* and *Classification*, or does a relationship not exist between these two? It is also not clear why certain relationships are supposed to be more direct than others.

Adaptations therefore have to be made. I will propose some adjustments in order to develop a hypothetical but more flexible model that can be modified in the context of a specific culture and which is only applied for particular analytical purposes, not as a fixed model that entails all cultural traits and assumptions that can be identified. The modifications of the model required in a given culture are then an indication of the different world view structures that are operational within a specific culture. In other words, the actual world view analysis may result in different models with different central variables and varying degrees in intensity of the relationships between the variables. This will then visualize more precisely the different perceptions of 'reality' and conceptualizations that exist in different cultures.

To begin with, in the original model *Time* and *Space* are only directly related to *Causality*, while in actual fact these variables are encompassing in a sense that all others are somehow imbedded in them. The *Time* and *Space* variables, as well as all the other variables should therefore take a more fluent position in the diagram. This has been pictured in Figure 7 where *Time* and *Space* are not specifically linked to any of the other variables, but have been integrated among the other world view variables. Another modification is the use of lines of equal thickness to indicate the dynamic nature of the model. At the same time the lines can indicate the mutual influences that the variables may exert on each other. The exact position and the degree of intensity of the relationships between the variables may differ according to the specific culture it represents.

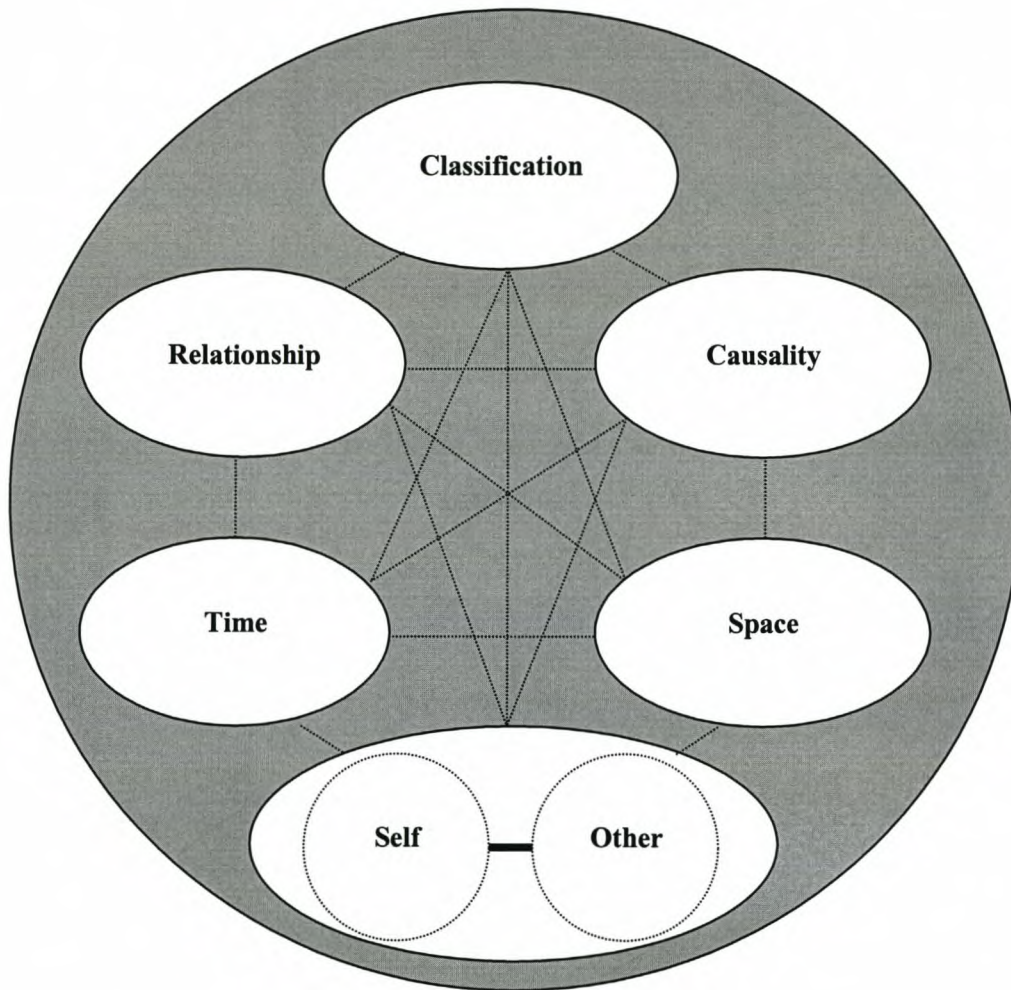


Figure 8: Adjusted model of world view variables

The variables *Self* and *Other* have been grouped together within one circle to indicate its close mutual relationship. The definition of *Self* influences the definition of *Other* directly and they cannot be analyzed independently.

Each variable is randomly positioned within the circle. On the basis of the analysis of a particular culture one variable may appear to be more prominent or central than other variables. It is therefore necessary to draw a diagram for each analyzed culture, representing the peculiarities of that culture. The world view analysis will have to be carried out using these variables as categories of analysis and description, after which a model for each of the analyzed cultures will have to be built.

2.3.4. Language and world view

2.3.4.1. Introduction

Although Chapter 2 (Semantics) has already given some insight into the connection between linguistics and anthropology in general it seems useful to make some comments at this point in order to show the coherence between these disciplines as well as the reciprocal roles these disciplines fulfill in semantic analysis. It should be clear now, combining the insights on semantics and world view theory, that my approach assumes that linguistics and anthropology cannot be separated from the study of human cognition in general. In the following paragraphs I will discuss some of the theoretical implications of this approach, after giving a very brief overview of the debate in the field of language and world view and an evaluation of its relevance for this study.

2.3.4.2. Linguistics and world view

The discussion in the literature with regard to the area of language, culture, and world view limits itself mainly to the so-called Whorf hypothesis and the issue of linguistic relativity (Hill, 1988:15; Eastman, 1999:103; Hill & Mannheim, 1992:383; Lucy, 1992; Fantini, 1995: 149-150; Gumperz & Levinson, 1996:1-2; Palmer, 1996: 11-22; Foley, 1997:192-214; Duranti, 1997:57-67; Sinha & Jensen de López, 2000:26-30). It should be noted, though, all are agreed that Whorf himself never posited something like a hypothesis. The main contention is supposedly the principle of linguistic relativity, which suggests that “there are no *a priori* constraints on the meanings which a human language might encode, and these encodings will shape unreflective understandings by speakers of a language” (Hill, 1988:15). Or formulated alternatively “that one’s language determines how one segments the world” (Eastman, 1990:103). The debate swings between two focal points: (1) linguistic determinism; and (2) linguistic variation. Since the argument is of a rather general and mainly language-philosophical nature, the relevance for the present research, focusing on analyzing the semantic contents of specific lexical items in the light of the culture in which they are used, is limited.

Central to the debate is the question to what extent language determines the thinking and perception of its speakers, or vice versa, to what extent thinking and perception shapes language. “Language and culture are not a perfect mirror of each other, a dynamic tension nonetheless exists between the two” (Fantini, 1995: 145). Increasingly it appears that there is a growing consensus towards accepting that there is a reciprocal relationship between language and thought,

whereby it is assumed that grammatical and other formal features of a language to a certain extent are an expression of the underlying world view.

The point of my investigation, however, is not to discover the world view of the book of Isaiah through a linguistic study and analysis of the Hebrew language similar to what apparently was done by Whorf (1956) in his study of Shawnee. My approach is to first try to explore the world view of the book of Isaiah on the basis of the textual evidence that it provides and on the strength of this evidence propose a semantic analysis of the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour that is based on the categories that the text provides. This semantic analysis will be based on a combination of a cognitive linguistic approach and the prevailing world view in the book of Isaiah.

2.3.4.3. Cognitive linguistics and world view

There has always been a certain degree of tension between cognitive linguistics and the notion of culture, or rather, cultural anthropology in general. Hill & Mannheim make a fairly sweeping statement when they say that “cognitive linguists have not been very much interested in culture” (1992: 394). The main reason for making such a generalization is probably the fact that many cognitive linguists assume that the problem of culture does not arise in cognitive theory, since this theory is based on principles of general human cognition and therefore has a rather universalistic approach in which there is not always enough room, and presumably even less need, for cultural nuances. Or in the words of Sinha & Jensen de López

The relevance of social experience is in no way denied, but it is not further explored, and, in most analyses, cognitive linguists concentrate exclusively upon the similarities and differences in the categorial or conceptual structures which are expressed in specific languages (2000:20).

The prevailing view, for example, in cognitive semantics is that “there is no separation of linguistic knowledge from general thinking or cognition” (Saeed, 1997:299). This view easily leads to the assumption that both language and culture are built on universals which form the basis for all human cognition.

As I have already demonstrated in Chapter 2, Section 2.3, the presumed existence of universals does not necessarily have to be denied, but it does not lead to any significant progress in the field of semantic description along the lines proposed in this study. Moore et al. (1999:529) note “an increasingly polarized controversy...concerning the existence of universals,” although they notice that “there is some agreement on the idea that each language classifies various domains of natural kinds...in characteristic ways.” However, they seek the solution in the presumed fact that, for example, emotions, the area in which they have done their research, are a universal feature all

over the world (1999:530). This statement is obviously quite different from assuming the existence of universal semantic categories. The statement simply means that emotion is a universal human trait, in other words, this could be an example of a more or less universal conceptualization of a human emotion. However, the way human cognition classifies and categorizes reality, and, more specifically, the way it employs lexical items to refer to these particular aspects or kinds of this universal human trait is deeply influenced by culture and thus may differ significantly from one culture to another.

In a similar study Matsuki (1995:137-151) confirms that the emotion 'anger' occurs in cultures as vastly different as the American and the Japanese, but that there are significant differences both in conceptualization and lexicalization. These differences can only be explained from the fact that they are embedded in their respective sociocultural contexts. Casad (1995:45) has demonstrated clearly from a cognitive perspective that "semantics is not universal, but is very highly constrained by the cultures within which people exist and interact."

Saeed (1997:300) states that as a result of the premises of their cognitive approach "studies in cognitive semantics have tended to blur, if not ignore, the commonly made distinctions between linguistic knowledge and encyclopaedic, real world knowledge." This indeed commonly made distinction between linguistic knowledge and encyclopedic knowledge is exactly at the cutting edge of the discussion of cognition and culture. It should be noted that the reference to "real world knowledge" is somewhat presumptuous. What is "real world knowledge?" And who decides whether something is "real world knowledge" or not? All human perception of reality or assumed reality is mediated through human cognition. In other words, a distinction between linguistic knowledge and encyclopedic knowledge cannot be made without assuming an extra-cultural position if it is defined in this way. This extra-cultural position can only be assumed if one culture is considered the standard against which other cultures will have to be measured.

Traditionally encyclopedic knowledge is defined as information that is not describing the linguistic meaning of lexical items, but rather the extra-linguistic aspects (Gouws, 1989:186—see also Chapter 2, Section 3.2.3.2.). I suggest defining encyclopedic knowledge as knowledge that enables the reader to understand the cultural and historic background of a lexical item. The need for such information increases when the distance between the source and receptor cultures increases both in terms of world view, and time.

Cognition and perception cannot be separated from existing knowledge and experience in the human brain. The way this knowledge and experience is grounded, organized, categorized, and incorporated within human cognition is to a large degree dependent on the cultural conditioning of the person concerned. Lakoff formulates this idea as follows:

Human categorization is essentially a matter of both human experience and imagination—of perception, motor activity, and culture on the one hand, and of metaphor, metonymy, and mental imagery on the other. As a consequence, human reason crucially depends on the same factors, and therefore cannot be characterized merely in terms of the manipulation of abstract symbols (1987:8).

There is no reason to assume that this does not apply to the category of negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah. In fact, the statement is a strong encouragement to include aspects of culture and world view in the semantic analysis. However, it should be noted that Lakoff's statement gives no indication as to how exactly these aspects influence each other. Even the aspects that Lakoff summarizes as being "on the one hand," notably perception and culture, are intimately related and have an impact on each other. Human perception is deeply influenced by world view and has therefore a significant influence on his/her categorization. These aspects cannot be seen as working separately. The combination of these aspects will determine to a large extent what "the other hand", i.e. metaphor, metonymy, and mental imagery, will look like. But first and foremost, the effect of world view on perception and categorization needs to be described and analyzed carefully before any conclusions can be drawn. It should be noted that the concept of culture is conspicuously absent from the book of Lakoff. The closest he comes to recognition of it is in his discussion of experiential bases of metaphor (1987: 276-278).

"Nevertheless, cognitive linguists have made important *implicit* contributions to our understanding of cultures and world views, particularly as they can be inferred from systems of metaphor" (Palmer, 1996:33, emphasis mine—see also Section 3.3.4.2.3.).

The same vagueness with respect to culture and world view can be observed in the work of Langacker. In his view "meaning is equated with conceptualization. Linguistic semantics must therefore attempt the structural analysis and explicit description of abstract entities like thoughts and concepts" (1990:2). But then the obvious question arises: What is conceptualization?

The term conceptualization is interpreted quite broadly: it encompasses novel conceptions as well as fixed concepts; sensory, kinesthetic, and emotive experience; recognition of the immediate context (social, physical, and linguistic); and so on (Langacker, 1990:2).

This is evidently a very broad and general approach. It indeed creates some space for the notion of culture and world view when there is reference to the social context, but the point is not made explicit at all. As it is put, the equation between meaning and conceptualization is lacking in preciseness and coherence and a structural analysis based on such broadly defined terms is bound to be inexplicit in its description.

To further illustrate the tension between culture and cognitive linguistics, I also refer to Quinn (1991:57) who goes to the extent that she has to try “to retake some of the territory cognitive semanticists have claimed for metaphor and claim it instead for the phenomenon I study—culture.” This apparently suggests a sharp contrast between these two areas of study, while it is clear that I strongly favour a complementary approach.

It should also be noted that there is no unanimous agreement on the perceived lack of interest among cognitive linguists in cultural issues. Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995:177) say that “one of the major steps forward taken by cognitive semantics has been to put the study of meaning back into its cultural and experiential context.” This term experience may be the cause of some confusion when the relationship between semantics and culture is discussed from a cognitive perspective. As was shown above, this is indeed the term that Lakoff (1987) uses. The same term is employed by cognitive scientists such as Langacker (1991) and Johnson (1987), while Casad (1995:23) points out that “much of semantics is culturally based.” It should also be noted, though, that experience and culture are, from their perspective, not interchangeable. Experience is apparently used as the more inclusive term, but much of its contents is determined by human physiology (Johnson, 1987), which finds its expression in metaphor, although there is obviously a growing interest in culture. This is not only exemplified by Geeraerts & Grondelaers (1995:153-180), it was also clearly expressed by Kövecses (1995:195) who concludes his cross-cultural research on anger by stating that “the conceptualization of anger is influenced by both culture and physiology.” It appears that a clearer definition and use of terminology is needed here in order to elucidate the exact points of discussion.

2.3.4.4. Semantics and world view

It is also important to consider the relationship between the study and analysis of world view on one hand and semantics on the other, particularly in view of the fact that this research seeks to combine both aspects in the analysis of a particular semantic domain.

Cultural anthropology has traditionally occupied itself frequently with the question of ordering in the minds of the people who are the subject of ethnographic description. The main concern is to get an idea about the way people organize ‘their’ reality. As we saw in the previous chapter on semantics, the way things are categorized is one major indicator of the way a culture is structured from the perspective of native cognition. Ethnosemantics, as Kearney (1984:32) and Palmer (1996:18-22) call it, is the area that has been mainly concerned with these questions. The major innovation of this approach lies in the fact that it looks at reality from the point of view of the insider, rather than imposing categories and principles based on theoretical considerations alien to

the culture under investigation. The results of this approach are found in a number of taxonomies and semantic domain studies that describe only a certain limited number of areas of a particular culture. The problems of this method are described in detail in Section 2.5. of Chapter 2 and therefore need not to be repeated here. However, it should be noted that Kearney sees a complementary relationship between ethnosemantics and world view studies (32-36).

Ethnosemantics brings out the categories from the native viewpoint with regard to a reality that can be verbally expressed. This shows at the same time its strength and its weakness. Its strength is obviously the fact that the categories are brought out from the native viewpoint. The categories are not those imposed by the researcher. On the other hand, it is limited to verbal expression and furthermore, it does not show the impact of the native categories on actual behaviour. Kearney concludes:

We can sum up this discussion by saying that ethnosemantics and world-view studies constitute the ends of an academic continuum. The ethnosemantic end is characterized by the identification and analysis of culturally defined semantic domains, while world-view study takes all of the culturally specific cognition of a people as its subject and attempts to represent it in terms of a set of logically interrelated and structurally consistent propositions and corollary statements that are assumed to model native perception and thinking. World-view theory and ethnosemantics are both concerned with internal ordering of cultural content, but whereas ethnosemantics has for the most part confined itself to this type of problem, the world-view theory presented herein seeks also to discover dynamic interrelations between cognitive structure and content and between external environment and behavior. In this formulation, then, world-view theory connects the cultural idealism of ethnosemantics and of cognitive anthropology in general (Kearney, 1984:36).

The complementary relationship between semantics and world view theory based on a cognitive approach clearly demonstrates the coherence of the analysis proposed in this study. However, it should also be emphasized that the semantic framework described in the previous chapter is broader than the field of study defined by ethnosemantics. Recent developments, particularly in the area of cognitive linguistics are incorporated, while a serious attempt is made to identify and use componential analysis of meaning as a heuristic tool, rather than as an expression of a particular type of linguistic theory.

Chapter 4

WORLD VIEW IN THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

1. Introduction

Even though the main concern of this research is in the area of anthropology and semantics, it is impossible to study the book of Isaiah without making any comments on its fairly complicated textual history and origins. This issue has dominated the research on the book of Isaiah for centuries (Watts, 1985:xxiv-xxv) and it still is an important issue for many scholars, in spite of the fact that there is presently a significant change of focus among most researchers towards questions of compositional, redactional, and theological unity of the book (Clements, 1982; Vermeyelen, 1989; Emerson, 1992:37-39; Melugin & Sweeney, 1996; Laato: 1998; Brueggemann, 1998:3-5; Oswalt, 1998: 3-16; Becker, 1999:3-4; Motyer, 1999:18; Person, 1999:373-379; Childs, 2001:1-5).

Before embarking on a world view description of Isaiah I will make some general comments on the issue and try to formulate my position to the extent this is relevant for the present study.

Furthermore I will make some general comments on the subject of world view in connection with the broader context of the Ancient Near East.

2. The book of Isaiah

In the research since the 19th century it has been a fairly widespread assumption that the book of Isaiah consists of at least two, and most likely of three, parts that can be studied independently from each other (Becker, 1999:3; Berges, 1999:119). McKenzie even goes to the extent of stating that "the argument against it need not be examined at length" (1968:xv).

Chapters 1-39 are generally ascribed to Isaiah of Jerusalem, a prophet who lived in the 8th century BCE. The other chapters, 40-66, are dated back to the 6th century BCE. The text itself of the book of Isaiah gives some obvious clues for this. The references to Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, are clear links to the 8th century historical context of Isa 1-39. The same applies to the references to an Assyrian invasion and more in general to the political upheaval in those days.

Chapters 40-55 are apparently addressing the time of exile in Babylon, and particularly the period shortly before the return from exile as a result of their release by king Cyrus of Persia around 540 BCE. Cyrus is pictured as God's instrument in Isa 45. The final chapters, 56-66, are generally considered to be referring to the time shortly after the return from exile.

I will not enter into an exhaustive discussion of the issues involved, but just draw the most important lines of reasoning. There are a few scholars who hold the view that the whole book should be ascribed to one prophet, named Isaiah (Young, 1965:8¹³; Delitzsch, 1976:53; Harrison, 1975:764-795; Oswalt, 1998:6; Motyer, 1999:27-33). The main reason is the assumption that it is possible through special supernatural revelation to predict events such as described or referred to in the latter chapters (Lau, 1994:1). According to Oswalt "it is the scholarly understanding of the phenomenon of biblical prophecy that needs to be corrected, not the traditional view of the book's authorship" (1998:6).¹⁴ However, "critical commentators ... would probably want to ask why inspiration should be denied to *anonymous* biblical authors" (Blenkinsopp, 2000:82).

The majority of scholars assume the existence of three different books that have for certain reasons ended up as one book in the canon. Duhm (1892) was the first and main proponent of this idea which was further developed by Gray, 1912:xxix-lix; Gressmann, 1914:254ff.; and Mowinckel 1931:87ff.. Their arguments were based mainly on form-critical research as established by Gunkel, who observed that "the prophets were not originally writers, but speakers" (Sweeney, 1996:10). In a review of the state of research at that time Seitz (1991:15) comments that there was no interest in the question of relationship between the three Isaiah sections, "because there is none, at least not meriting extensive discussion. The three books came together for reasons that are unclear or accidental, involving matters of simple expedience or preservation (scroll length)." Many scholars consequently went to the extent of assuming that the three parts could be studied independently from each other, "as if it concerns three different prophetic books that in the past have been joint together by coincidence" (Becker, 1999:3). Although I do not see any compelling reason to completely discard the prevailing view that the book of Isaiah consists of three parts that can be clearly distinguished from each other in terms of historical background and composition, I would like to qualify the significance of this observation for the present study. Before doing so, I will first discuss some assumptions and conclusions of scholars in connection with their adherence to the opinion that the book of Isaiah was written and composed by at least more than one, author and/or redactor.

¹³ Without attempting to provide any evidence for his point, Young states that "the prophet Isaiah himself was the author of the entire book, he himself committed it all to writing, and he was responsible for collecting his messages and placing them in the present book which bears his name (1965:8)."

¹⁴ It should be noted, though, that Norman recognizes the existence of an editor when it suits his argument. In a comment on 48.22 he states that the appearance of the refrain in this verse "could be an editorial addition supporting a more mechanical division than one based on either form or content (1998:14, see also 280)."

2.1. The original words of the prophet

The key assumption in this respect is that there is need to distinguish between the “original” words of the prophet Isaiah and the writings of others. The main reason for this distinction is the idea that the words of the prophet himself are more authoritative, more significant in meaning, than those of others. Wildberger, the author of a more recent, major commentary on Isaiah (1972/78/82), states that the distinction “original” versus “non-original” words of Isaiah does not imply a value judgement (1984:6). Nevertheless, he immediately says that it cannot be neglected that, as a rule, the Isaianic parts elevate themselves above the secondary sections, both in terms of precision of language, use of metaphors and application of figures of speech (1984:6). Other Old Testament introductions (e.g. Vriezen, 1961) and commentaries make similar distinctions. Gray (1912) devotes a special section in his introduction to the “Criteria for distinguishing the words of Isaiah from the additions of later writers” (lvii-lix). The reason for the distinction is obviously the assumption that words carry more authority when they can be ascribed to Isaiah of Jerusalem.

Gray says

...the book of Isaiah is not, as we have received it, the work of Isaiah, it must be one of the main tasks of the commentators to disengage the work of the prophet from the accretions which it has received, and so to recover ... the spirit and teaching of a single personality in place of the confused and composite form that must present itself, if we attempt to treat the entire book as the work of a single mind. (1912:xi).

Radday (1973:1-8) surveys numerous proposals on the number of authors and the authenticity of different chapters by modern critics. In view of the many different scholarly opinions it is very difficult to make solid distinctions on the basis of temporal differentiation of the various sections of the book of Isaiah. For example, 13-14 are claimed to be of ‘post-exilic date’ (Radday, 1973:10); the authenticity of 24-27 is questioned, as well as that of 13-14. Others (such as Fohrer, 1962:251ff) say that authentic Isaiah oracles are dispersed throughout the first half of the book. So how can we make a sensible decision with respect to age and origin of the different passages? In addition to the already existing confusion, Radday makes his own proposals, different from all existing ones, based on a statistical linguistic survey (1973:276/7).

Yet, the basic questions are rarely asked: Are the assumptions correct behind the search for the “original” words of Isaiah? What exactly is the use of these distinctions for the understanding of the book of Isaiah? Only in exceptional cases is the search for the “original” words useful, such as in Paas (1998) who tries to identify the images of creation among prophets in the 8th century BCE. In the majority of cases where we try to come to a deeper understanding of the book of Isaiah as it has been transmitted in final form to us, the value of this quest for the “original” words is debatable.

2.2. The unity of the book

An assumption of literary/compositional unity underlies the orientation of most current research on the book of Isaiah. There is a growing interest in the book as a whole in order to show that the connections between the different parts of the book cannot be ascribed to coincidence, but that it pays to clarify the process of redaction behind its development as one book (Becker, 1999:4). It shows that the redactors and tradents were more than just simply collectors of texts. They were creative authors in the full sense of the word and were in many ways not less “original” than what is usually seen as the prophetic words (Becker, 1999:6). The development in this direction started already with Childs (1979 and 1993) and it has a German representative in Rendtorff (1984). Beuken (1989a:7-8), although clearly based on Duhm’s division of the book into three parts, also recognizes the significance of considering the book as a unity. Another clear exponent of this new trend is Watts (1985). The very first statement in the introduction of his commentary (in reference to Wildberger’s commentary) says

In spite of the invaluable worth of his commentary in summarizing and evaluating all the results of historical-critical research to date, it does not succeed in presenting an understandable interpretation of the book [of Isaiah]. He has followed the method of historical exegesis, and his work shows the tremendous results of that method. But it does not make the book come alive for the reader or student (xxiii).

It is clear for Watts that the problem is in the historical-critical method. He does not completely discard the results of this method, but notes that it does not yield the expected outcome. This is also the crucial point that is highlighted by Sanders (1984). In his words “historical criticism has been primarily interested...in what was really said and done by the original biblical contributors” (xvi). As we saw already, this leads to the assumption that certain Scripture passages are considered as primary materials, while others are at best secondary (Barton, 1995:17-20). This approach overlooks the fact that we are dealing with the whole book as it has been accepted as part of the canon by the community of believers. Watts (1985) notes the implications clearly when he says that

Views concerning authorship should neither enhance nor detract from confidence in the book’s inspiration or revelatory value. It is not the reputation of a particular person that gives a book its sacred character. The book is accepted as being inspired, its canonical shape and position showing it to be worthy of its place in Holy Scripture.

The case for literary unity should demonstrate (1) a single purpose that shapes the book; (2) a structure that supports and communicates that purpose; and (3) movement and emphasis that develop that purpose-theme (xlii).

In this context Berges states that “both in terms of formal features as well as contents there are very strong cross links between the different parts [of the book of Isaiah]; that plead against the assumption that the parts have originated independently from each other” (1999:122). Similar ideas are expressed by Seitz (1988). Without denying the “Three-Isaiah model” he asks this question: “What are the internal literary features that enable us to read this multi-layered collection as a coherent whole (18)?”

It is precisely from this perspective that I will deal with the book of Isaiah. In the first place, the semantic analysis can only be carried out on the basis of what the entire book is saying, without attaching extra weight to particular passages because they are supposedly “original”. The text itself certainly does not provide any justification for weighting the evidence. And secondly, apart from the fact that we noted ample disagreement on the point of ascribing specific passages to Isaiah of Jerusalem, any translation is carried out on the basis of what the *text* says, regardless of the question whether or not the text is the result of a long and complicated process of writing, editing and composition. Sweeney (1996:11) rightly notes that

the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible does not distinguish between the “original” words of the prophets and the writings of later redactors and tradents. Rather, an entire prophetic book is presented to the form critic in its totality, and it is in the form of the prophetic book that the prophetic message lays a claim to religious authority and interpretation. In interpreting the prophetic literature, the exegete cannot simply claim that some part of that literature is a worthy presentation of the prophetic message and that some other part is less so.

This clearly questions the significance of the results of the historical-critical research. However, the point of this study is not to analyze the validity of the historical-critical method.

Consequently, the point of this study is also not to find out what the *person* Isaiah meant to say, but rather what the *book* of Isaiah in the form in which the successive communities of faith accepted it into the canon is communicating. It is not the prophet Isaiah who was canonical, but it is the book of Isaiah (Sanders, 1984:xvii).

In a similar fashion, this applies to the analysis of world view items. Again the purpose is not to discover elements of world view in the mind of the prophet Isaiah, but rather in the book of Isaiah. Consequently, I will not make any comments on or draw conclusions from the possible significance of the specific section in the book of Isaiah in which certain features occur.

The fact that both world view and semantic analyses of the specific sections of Isaiah cannot be treated independently from the other sections is also underscored by the research of Williamson (1993: 107/8). He concludes

The evidence advanced above significantly strengthens the case in favor of those who have argued that Deutero-Isaiah worked in conscious literary dependence on his

predecessor and that he never intended his work to be read without reference to the wider context which the early form of Isaiah 1-39 provides for it.

Similarly, Beuken (1989a:10-12) demonstrates that Trito-Isaiah cannot be read without reference to Deutero-Isaiah and Proto-Isaiah. In fact he considers Trito-Isaiah as the one who struggled to make Deutero-Isaiah relevant for a different historical context. And the fact that Trito-Isaiah is part of the book of Isaiah is not just because it has a close connection with Deutero-Isaiah, but also because it is the heir to Proto-Isaiah. Beuken (1989a:12) concludes that Trito-Isaiah “originates from the book of Isaiah.”

3. World view and the book of Isaiah

A few questions remain to be answered before attempting a world view description based on the book of Isaiah. Firstly, to what extent is the world view as it may be identified in the book of Isaiah different from that of the Ancient Near East in general? Secondly, is it possible to detect a world view, or elements thereof, on the basis of one book, the poetic, hortatory, and at times visionary book of a prophet, for that matter? Does it really provide any insight into the world view of the people at large?

3.1. The book of Isaiah and the Ancient Near East

The first concern that needs to be addressed is that of uniformity of world view in the Ancient Near East in general. As far as this is concerned there is a fairly high degree of unanimity among scholars who have addressed this issue. Frankfort et al. (1977) talk about “a multiplicity of approaches to problems (16)” when they discuss the attitude of what they call “ancient man” in his approach to life in general and particularly in relationship to abstract concepts such as *Time*, *Space* and *Causality* as it occurred in Ancient Near Eastern thought. Similarly, Cornelius (1994) states that “one has to admit that there was no single systematized uniform view of the world in the Ancient Near East” (200). He illustrates this with the idea of “the three-leveled world (heaven, earth, subterrestrial ocean or underworld)” which was quite common in the Ancient Near East, while at the same time there were various differences that can be noted as well (200-203). Even within the Hebrew Bible there is no single systematized and uniform view of the world. The fact that it contains two different creation accounts in Genesis, while other differences occur in Psalms, Job, and Isaiah makes this point clear (Cornelius, 1994:200). Yet, as I just noted, there is also a considerable degree of commonality. As Cornelius puts it, “the Hebrew Bible uses central concepts and ideas typical of the cosmology of ancient Near Eastern times...However, the biblical writers seem to have given their own interpretation to many of these concepts”

(1994:202). A crucial point to be noted here is the fact that the biblical writers adopted a thoroughly theological, Yahwistic perspective.

Quite a number of other distinctions between Israel and the other peoples of the Ancient Near East have been mentioned by other authors. The fact that the Israelites were monotheistic, while others practiced polytheism is often mentioned as one significant difference (Grabbe, 1993: 53). However, it should be noted that this observation should be slightly modified. In the first place, the Hebrew Bible at times suggests a somewhat different perspective, as in Psalm 82:1,

God has taken his place in the divine council;
in the midst of the gods he holds judgment:¹⁵

A similar event is described in Job 1:8, although the situation is slightly different. At the same time, it should be noted that these are both poetic passages and hence not very reliable for precise historical or world view reconstruction. A second restriction on the presumed dissimilarity at this point between Israel and the other peoples lies in the fact that on numerous occasions the Hebrew Bible indeed requires adherence to the God of Israel, YHWH, while the people apparently have a strong tendency to 'go after other gods'. In other words, there is ample evidence of a discrepancy between the 'ideal' rules and the actual way in which many of most of the people of Israel worshiped.

In conclusion it is safe to say that there is a fair degree of commonality with the other peoples of the Ancient Near East, but there are also significant differences. In the words of Gnuse (1989:3)

Israel may be different, but not unique, in relation to ancient Near Eastern predecessor cultures. Israel took latent ideas found in the ancient Near East and put them together in a new construal which brought previously unemphasized perspectives to the fore. This reconstruction of ancient Near Eastern thought caused the emergence of new attitudes in social, political, and economic perceptions, as well as the religious dimension.

A critical note should be voiced here. The Old Testament text stresses time and again that there is divine action in the development of Israel's religion. Gnuse does apparently not recognize this point.

It is nevertheless helpful to draw comparisons between the people of Israel and other peoples in the Ancient Near East, not with an intention of providing insight into the world view that prevails in the book of Isaiah, but rather to draw parallels and to highlight specific differences.¹⁶ The same

¹⁵ All Bible quotations in English are from the New Revised Standard Version.

¹⁶ Talstra (2002:17) draws a similar conclusion with regard to the exegesis of the book of Psalms when he says that "the psalm should in the first place be understood against the background of the cosmology and religions of the Ancient Near East." See also Talstra, 2002:21-26.

can be said about the world view in the book of Isaiah and the other books in the Hebrew Bible. There may not be complete uniformity in this respect, but it may be assumed that the similarities are closer and more numerous, hence also more significant for the semantic analysis.

3.2. The book of Isaiah and the world view of the people

Another question that needs to be addressed is whether or not the book of Isaiah really reflects the world view of the 'common' people. In the previous paragraph it was suggested that there is a considerable difference between the views represented by Isaiah and popular practice in terms of monotheism. It should be noted that such is often the nature of Old Testament prophecy. The prophet often speaks out against particular practices that have developed among the people or their leaders, but that need to be corrected and/or sanctioned from the point of view of 'official' religious ideas or traditions that have developed in the course of time. In other words, the objection could be made that the book of Isaiah is not representative of the world view as it was held by the people of Judah and Israel in those days. Grabbe (1993) says, "this world view [of the prophets] represents only the bias of a particular minority group at a particular time, viz. the editors of the tradition and some of the tridents" (53). However, if we assume that the prophet represents the will and the words of Yahweh there is no reason to qualify this as 'bias'.

Apart from this it is also important to note that the views of the book of Isaiah may reflect the views of the elite. It is only the elite who were able to express themselves in writing, and from what has been written it is only a limited corpus that has been preserved and to which we currently have access. The elitist approach in the book of Isaiah may be stronger than in other prophetic documents. Isaiah of Jerusalem is generally viewed as somebody who belonged to the religious establishment of his time. It is widely assumed that he served as a priest and was therefore closely associated with the temple cult in Jerusalem, while Isaiah 6 and 7 also suggests that Isaiah was closely associated with the monarchy. All this has also been observed by van der Toorn (1985:8) when he talks of different strata in the society.

When a society is made up of several social and cultural layers it cannot be assumed that all hold the same opinion. Recent studies have tended to stress the difference between popular piety and official religion, and even this twofold division is far too simplistic to do the entire spectrum justice. Are we not forced to admit the lopsidedness of our evidence, since the reigning classes are usually also the writing classes?

While I recognize this problem, it should be stressed that this does not impede the present study in any way, for the following reasons:

1. The purpose of my study is related to the cross-cultural communication of certain lexical items in the book of Isaiah. In translation the focus should always be, to the extent possible, on the intended meaning of the text as it has been delivered to us. Although the book probably does not represent popular world view, this does in no way disqualify the fact that the presumably elitist world view needs to be reflected faithfully in translation. In order to make this faithful reflection possible, the state of present Hebrew lexicography will be investigated and some recommendations in the field of lexicography will be made.
2. Since the contents of the book at certain points are a response against the popular world view, it also gives insight into certain aspects of it. However, this is effected through the eyes of a prophet who can only be selective in his representation of that world view, as he will only describe those elements against which he directs his prophecy.

3.3. Points of departure and delimitation

In order to present a clearer picture of the world view variables in the book of Isaiah it is helpful to formulate some practical points of departure.

- The analysis of the world view variables will take the text of Isaiah as its point of departure and not the model of world view variables on which the analysis is based. The model is an analytical tool meant to describe and interpret reality and to make it more accessible. It is not reality itself. For this research, reality (or, rather, a particular perception of it) is found in the book of Isaiah, even though this perception may have been idealized or modified for the specific purpose of the author(s) and redactor(s). In a sense, the author(s) and redactor(s) create their own reality. Section 3.3.2. made it clear that the book of Isaiah is the text to be translated with all its specific semantic and pragmatic elements and its complicated history of composition and redaction. One of the goals is to construct a world view model that reflects the significant variables in a relevant way, clearly showing their coherence within the book of Isaiah. The contents of the book should therefore not be forced into the framework of the model, but its application should flow naturally from the text.
- It is impossible to construct an entire world view system on the basis of a given corpus of data, one that was produced with a specific purpose, such as the corpus we have available for this research. Furthermore there is no possibility of obtaining additional information from any representatives of this world view. The analysis can therefore only touch on issues that are apparent from the text. Other areas can not be treated and, naturally, the world view system derived from these data is bound to be incomplete.

- In view of the fact that this is a fairly new approach to the biblical text, plus the fact that the process of analysis is somewhat complicated, it should be noted that the book of Isaiah provides a very large corpus of data. In order to limit this corpus I will take Isaiah 56-66 as a point of departure. From there, parallels will be drawn to the rest of the book. If we accept the results of the critical research that indicate that this is most likely post-exilic material and we also accept the fact that the book of Isaiah needs to be understood as a whole unit, then Isaiah 56-66 is a good starting point for the analysis, since it provides the framework against which the whole book has been interpreted by the author(s) and or redactor(s) of these chapters. An additional reason to introduce this restriction in terms of data is to ensure that the results of the research will be more easily verifiable.
- Although I do recognize the fact that world view is to a certain extent determined by its historical and physical context these aspects do not receive primary attention in this study. Given the contents of the semantic domain that is in focus emphasis is on the religious aspects of world view.
- Accepting the complex nature of reality and our perception thereof, and the fact that borders of time, culture and language will have to be crossed in this research, it will not always be possible to isolate or separate all variables strictly from each other. In other words, the system should be seen as a complex whole with many cross-border connections.
- As was already noted Section 3.3.2., there is often a discrepancy between the ideal perspective represented by the prophet who claims to speak on behalf of Yahweh and the actual practice of the people who are being addressed. This could be termed a tension between the *ideal* and the *real*. This tension is an intrinsic part of many occurrences of Old Testament prophecy. The prophets often act as men sent from God to correct a certain situation or to pronounce judgement on it. In other words, there must be contrasts in the situation described, otherwise the corrective words of the prophet would be irrelevant. These contrasting perspectives will need to be accommodated in the analysis. This tension is well described by McNutt (1999:6) when she discusses possibilities of reconstructing the society of ancient Israel on the basis of the Hebrew Bible:

The literature...most likely reflects more the concerns of their own gender and their own class consciousness than that of the society as a whole. From what we know about societies, both ancient and modern, different groups would have had different, often competing interests (whether these are articulated or not) and different worldviews.
- A world view analysis is distinctly different from a pure exegetical exercise. It looks for possible assumptions underlying actual or desired behaviour, while it also looks for certain

conceptual structures (which may or may not be consciously present) that explain people's perception of reality.

Ideally, the effort can best be summarized in the words of Simkins (1994:13), "...it is necessary to construct a worldview that can account for the biblical texts as if they were predicated on this worldview." The extent to which this ideal can be reached is the subject of this analysis.

3.4. World view variables in the book of Isaiah

3.4.1. *Causality* in the book of Isaiah

The reason to start the analysis with *Causality* is the fact that this variable is arguably the most fundamental one in the world view of the book of Isaiah and, as will be shown during the course of the analysis, many of the characteristics of the other variables can also be traced to the variable of *Causality*.

The LORD is at the centre of the message that is proclaimed in this book, and it seems that the entire book can be explained on the basis of the fact that there are conflicting perspectives between the prophet and the people with regard to the critical question of *Causality*. Who is ultimately in charge? What is the origin of everything? What is the source of power and how can it be manipulated? How can these things be recognized in the words and in the behaviour of the people?

There are obviously a few diverging points of view that can be distinguished with respect to these questions. It should be noted, though, that the prophet himself pictures all the different perspectives. In other words, he selects what is relevant to the message, also when he represents viewpoints of others. These different perspectives may be summarized as follows:

1. The perspective of the prophet who frequently claims to speak on behalf of the LORD, as expressed in the opening sentence of the corpus under investigation, Isa 56.1, "Thus says the LORD..." This statement occurs in 35 instances: Isa 7:7; 10:24; 22:15; 28:16; 29:22; 37:6,21,33; 38:1,5; 43:1,14,16; 44:2,6,24; 45:1,11,14,18; 48:17; 49:7,8,22,25; 50:1; 52:3,4; 56:1,4,8; 65:8,13; and 66:1,12. In most cases the text refers to יהוה only, but in eight references the text uses a double name: יהוה אֱלֹהֵינוּ (Isa 7:7; 10:24; 22:15; 28:16; 49:22; 52:4; 56:8; and 65:13). A similar expression of this same idea is the phrase "for (the mouth of) the LORD has spoken," in Isa 1:2,20; 22:25; 24:3; 25:8; 37:22; 40:5; and

58:14. Yet another way to articulate this very idea is “says the LORD of hosts”, found in Isa 14:22,23; 17:3; 22:25; and 45:13. Other variations also occur.¹⁷

2. The perspective of the people who, in the opinion of the prophet, have largely different assumptions about *Causality* from what he considers desirable. One of the most notable examples can be found in Isa 57.3-13, particularly in specific phrases in 57.8 (“in deserting me,” – although there is some doubt about the meaning of the Hebrew); 57.11 (“[you] did not remember me”); and 57.13 (“...let your collection of idols deliver you!”). Parallels to this complaint of the prophet in other sections of the book can be found in 1.2 (“but they have rebelled against me.”); 1.4 (“who have forsaken the LORD, who have despised the Holy One of Israel, who are utterly estranged!”); and 48.8 (“For I knew that you would deal very treacherously, and that from birth you were called a rebel.”). There are numerous other examples of this different *Causality* orientation of the people.
3. A different perspective of the prophet who not only speaks on behalf of the LORD to the people in order to correct their behaviour, but who also pleads on behalf of the people for forgiveness and mercy. The passage in 61.1-7 could serve as an example of this, although the opinions differ on this issue.¹⁸ But even if there is disagreement about the exact identity of the speaker(s), the fact remains that the book of Isaiah here expresses a general plea for the people. Another clear example of a similar instance is 63.7—64.12. Here too, there is disagreement among commentators about the origins and background of this particular section. But, again, this is irrelevant for the point made here. The fact is that the section occurs at this particular juncture in the book of Isaiah and that there is a clear plea to the LORD for mercy upon his people. In other words, the author used this section here in order to represent a different perspective, namely a call for forgiveness. In the powerful rhetoric of this passage it seems that the LORD is reproached for the fact that the people went astray:

Why, O LORD, do you make us stray from your ways
and harden our heart, so that we do not fear you?
Turn back for the sake of your servants,
for the sake of the tribes that are your heritage (63.17).

¹⁷ It should be noted that this is not unique in OT prophecy. In the book of Jeremiah the phrase ‘Thus says the LORD’ occurs 150 times and in Ezekiel there are 126 occurrences.

¹⁸ There is some debate on this particular passage as to who the speaker could be. Beuken (1989a:195-196) opts for the prophet, but leaves open the possibility that the prophet represents the servant. Watts (1987:299-300) ascribes the passage to different speakers. His commentary particularly focuses on the identity of the speakers, since it pictures the entire book of Isaiah as a dramatic piece of art, thereby sometimes forcing some passages into a certain mould in order to fit the genre.

Much of the content of the message of the prophet is directed towards correcting the people's perception of *Causality* in order to bring them into a right relationship with the LORD, the source of everything. The opening verse of Ch. 56 exemplifies this point well:

Thus says the LORD:
Maintain justice, and do what is right,
for soon my salvation will come,
and my deliverance be revealed.

In both cases in line 2 the verb used is a *qal imperative, masculine, plural* (שְׁמְרוּ and וַעֲשׂוּ). The relationship between the desired behaviour and the results of it are clear. The LORD will provide salvation and deliverance if the people abide by the rules that are spelt out here. Given the *1st person singular* suffixes attached to the nouns (שְׁעָתִי and יוֹצֵדִקָּתִי) it is clear that the LORD should be seen as the provider of these desirable attributes. In other words, he should be regarded as the *Causality* factor in this process. This example is illustrative of a steady flow of imperatives (and other grammatical constructions with the same directive purpose) throughout the book, which are aimed at correcting the behaviour of the people. These imperatives are usually followed by certain provisions that the LORD will make if one decides to follow these instructions (e.g. 57.14 ff.).

An alternative way of bringing the point to the attention of the reader is the construction with *if you...then...*, a condition-result relationship, not uncommon in Hebrew parallelism (Wendland, 1998:81-85). An example of this is found in 58.13-14,

13 If you refrain from trampling the sabbath,
from pursuing your own interests on my holy day;
if you call the sabbath a delight
and the holy day of the LORD honorable;
if you honor it, not going your own ways,
serving your own interests, or pursuing your own affairs;
14 then you shall take delight in the LORD,
and I will make you ride upon the heights of the earth;
I will feed you with the heritage of your ancestor Jacob,
for the mouth of the LORD has spoken.

The LORD will be the provider of good rewards only if certain conditions are met: *I will make you ride...*, and *I will feed...* The contrastive negative parallel of this construction also occurs:

but if you refuse and rebel,
you shall be devoured by the sword;
for the mouth of the LORD has spoken.
Isa 1.20

Again the point is made clear in this expression that the LORD is the sole *Causality* factor of the predicament that is pronounced.

Thus far we have looked at the *ideal* view point, as it has been expressed by the prophet. It is, of course, legitimate to say that this view point is apparently not shared by all people, otherwise the emphasis on the above mentioned points would be irrelevant. So we may conclude, by implication, that the world view system of the people did not necessarily base itself upon the LORD as the sole *Causality* factor. The people sought for explanations elsewhere. This point is also explicated several times in the text. Ch. 57.1-13 offers a clear example. The entire section appears to be directed against the idolatry of the people, but this is particularly notable in 3-9:

3 But as for you, come here,
 you children of a sorceress,
 you offspring of an adulterer and a whore.
 4 Whom are you mocking?
 Against whom do you open your mouth wide
 and stick out your tongue?
 Are you not children of transgression,
 the offspring of deceit—
 5 you that burn with lust among the oaks,
 under every green tree;
 you that slaughter your children in the valleys,
 under the clefts of the rocks?
 6 Among the smooth stones of the valley is your portion;
 they, they, are your lot;
 to them you have poured out a drink offering,
 you have brought a grain offering.
 Shall I be appeased for these things?
 7 Upon a high and lofty mountain
 you have set your bed,
 and there you went up to offer sacrifice.
 8 Behind the door and the doorpost
 you have set up your symbol;
 for, in deserting me, you have uncovered your bed,
 you have gone up to it,
 you have made it wide;
 and you have made a bargain for yourself with them,
 you have loved their bed,
 you have gazed on their nakedness.
 9 You journeyed to Molech with oil,
 and multiplied your perfumes;
 you sent your envoys far away,
 and sent down even to Sheol.

This section provides a long list of evidence for the fact that the people (or, more specifically, the people of Jerusalem—there is a switch from 2nd person masculine plural to 2nd person feminine singular in verse 6) did not consider the LORD as the ultimate force of *Causality*. Instead, they seek explanations for the determining forces in life elsewhere: in sorcery, worship at sacred trees (including fertility rites)¹⁹, sacrifices of children, throwing stones for lots, worshiping in high

¹⁹ The fact that the homonym עֲלֵים (oaks or gods - 57.5) is used cannot be coincidental.

places, sexual misconduct, and consulting the dead. The rest of the book of Isaiah also provides clear substantiation for the occurrence of these practices. Sorcerers and enchanters are mentioned in 3.3 and 47.9,12; diviners occur in 2.6 and 3.2; while soothsayers (2.6) and magicians (3.2) also play their role in the explanatory system of the people. This particular issue of divination and the consultation of different media well illustrates the difference between the *ideal* world view perspective and the *real*. The people are evidently looking for a source that gives direction in life, that is, for *Causality*, in terms of world view variables. They assume that it must be sought in the realm of the supernatural, but they look for it in an area that is strongly disapproved of from the ideal point of view represented by the prophet, while, in fact, the function of the prophet's work and that of the diviners is very similar.

The conclusion to which anthropological data lead...is that prophecy and divination are variant forms of the same phenomenon, religious intermediation—that is, a process of communication between the human and the divine sphere in which messages in both directions are channeled through individuals who are recognized by others in the society as qualified to perform this function (Overholt, 1996:80).

The crucial difference, however, is that the book of Isaiah wants to lead the readers in the direction of the LORD as the ultimate explanation of life's questions, while many people apparently insist on finding solutions outside the realm of the LORD's power. It is not clear whether the prophet is indeed "recognized by others in the society." Overholt (1996:80) goes to the extent of ascribing both prophet and diviner to the same "mainstream religious enterprise", noting that "the personnel can overlap". This overlapping of personnel or roles is clearly not the case in the book of Isaiah. The diviners and other media are nearly always mentioned in a judgmental context, such as in Isa 57.3-9 (quoted above). Isa 57.11 ("Whom did you dread and fear so that you lied, and did not remember me or give me a thought?") puts the activities of the whole paragraph in an antithetical relationship with the LORD, so there can be no question of overlap or agreement between the actions of the people and the judgement upon them by the prophet. Only in the judgement passage of Isa 3.2 is there a possibility of overlap between the offices of prophet and diviner, where both are condemned with no apparent opposition to each other. They are both listed under the category of corrupted "support and staff" (Isa 3.1), apparently as types of failed leadership. This suggests that there can indeed be some degree of overlap, although this is by no means certain. Verses 2 and 3 list different kinds of leaders, and it is not clear from the context whether they all refer to leaders that subscribe to the same religious subsystem. However, they are all alike condemned.

As was noted already, an important question with regard to *Causality* is the one of manipulation. How can the power behind *Causality* be influenced in either a negative or a positive direction? The text of Isaiah again seems to offer different perspectives. In the first place, the text suggests a very explicit and direct relationship between behaviour and the response of the LORD, both in positive and negative terms. There is a clear indication that the response of the LORD is a direct result of a particular kind of behaviour, albeit stated in broad and general categories. This is obvious in the following texts:

- According to their deeds, so will he repay (59.18).
- And he will come to Zion as Redeemer, to those in Jacob who turn from transgression, says the LORD (59.20).
- I will not keep silent, but I will repay; I will indeed repay into their laps their iniquities and their ancestors' iniquities together, says the LORD (65.6^b – 7^a).
- Those who sanctify and purify themselves to go into the gardens, following the one in the center, eating the flesh of pigs, vermin, and rodents, shall come to an end together, says the LORD (66.17).

These verses clearly indicate that a certain kind of behaviour results in a certain response from the LORD. In other words, the power contained in the *Causality* variable can apparently be influenced by demonstrating the kind of behaviour that is in accordance with the standards defined by *Causality*.

This leads to the second perspective, a derived perspective that describes desirable behaviour, but not always providing an explicit indication of the consequences. The connection between behaviour and results is implicit, but the consequence is clearly implied in the textual context when much emphasis is put on various kinds of desirable behaviour in order to solicit a positive attitude towards the people from the LORD. It is clear that the standards are not set by the people but by the personal power that constitutes the *Causality* variable, the LORD. If the people adhere to these specific instructions the results will have a positive impact on their lives, as initiated by the LORD. Conversely, if they do not adhere, the consequences can be disastrous. Numerous examples can be found in Isaiah 56—66:

- Maintain justice, do what is right, practice righteousness, knowledge of peace, share with the less privileged (56.1; 57.1-2; 57.21; 58.2, 6, 7, 10; 59.8,14-15; 60.17,21; 61.8; 61.8,11; 64.5)
- Keep the sabbath, do not profane it (56.2,6; 58.13)
- Refrain from doing evil, such as serving own interests, oppressing workers, shedding blood, violence, quarrel and fight, covetousness, lying, robbery (56.2; 57.17, 21; 58.3, 4, 13; 59.3,6,7; 60.18; 61.1; 61.8)

- Hold fast the LORD's covenant (56.4,6, 59.21)
- A general command to worship the LORD only (56.6-7; 66.23; negatively expressed in 57.3-13; 59.13; 60.12-14; 63.10; 65.1-5, 11-12)
- Take refuge in the LORD (57.13)

The standards to which the people have to adhere are clear, and they are expected to live in accordance with them if they are to anticipate a favourable treatment by the LORD who is clearly in charge of everything. It is the LORD who determines these standards, and it is also LORD who determines the particular consequences that a certain kind of behaviour will have on the people who practise it.

The third perspective which, on one hand, seems to contradict earlier perspectives is the one that paints a positive future even for the ones who did not live in accordance with the standards that the LORD has set. This is clearly not in line with the observation made before that behaviour which complies with the standards that the LORD has set is rewarded, while unfavourable behaviour leads to some form of punishment. On the other hand, this perspective confirms the statement in the previous paragraph where it says that it also the LORD who decides on the particular consequences a certain kind of behaviour will have on the people who practise it. He does that randomly and does not have to give account of what he does. A case in point is the following passage from Isa 57 where the LORD is the speaker:

16 For I will not continually accuse,
nor will I always be angry;
for then the spirits would grow faint before me,
even the souls that I have made.
17 Because of their wicked covetousness I was angry;
I struck them, I hid and was angry;
but they kept turning back to their own ways.
18 I have seen their ways, but I will heal them;
I will lead them and repay them with comfort,
creating for their mourners the fruit of the lips.

As was already noted, this obviously contradicts the first perspective that was described where there is a direct link between behaviour and consequences. However, there is some discussion about the meaning of the second verb in line 2 of vs. 18, **וְאֶשְׂכַּח**, which has been translated by the NRSV as *repay*. Other translations have: *in full measure* (REB), *fill...with* (NJB), *requite* (RSV), *restore* (NIV), *mete out* (NJV). Watts (1987:261) suggests *complete* (verb), while Beuken (1989a:90) opts for a similar solution. The *piel* form of the root **שָׁלַם** can have different meanings, both positive and negative: *to satisfy* or *to requite* (Jenni & Westermann, 1997:1341). Brown et al. (1951:1022) come to similar conclusions, although they do not make any reference

to context as a determining factor of the correct meaning. They simply list various options: *requite, recompense, reward*.

Depending on the interpretation within the given context one can opt for a translation such as *to be complete*, in the positive sense of *reaching full satisfaction*, or in the negative sense of *to requite* or *to repay* (although the latter is more neutral). And even in this latter, negative sense the meaning turns out to be positive, since one would not expect *comfort* as a form of exercising vengeance. In other words, whichever translation solution one chooses here, the result is contrary to the general expectations that one has on the basis of the preceding context. The complaint is that the people are *wicked* and in spite of the LORD's anger *kept turning back to their own ways*. The first line of 18 sets the scene for an outcome that is contrary to the normal expectations and the second line only confirms this. On the basis of verse 19, where the word שָׁלוֹם is used twice, I prefer a translation that indicates *fullness* or *completeness* because it seems safe to consider the use of the same root in 18 as a wordplay on this important theme (Beuken, 1989a:90). Another occurrence with similar meaning in this corpus occurs in 60.20, where NRSV has translated *and your days of mourning shall be ended*. Here the translation clearly conveys the meaning of *completion*.

In summary, it is safe to say that the *Causality* variable is the central variable in the world view on which the book of Isaiah builds. The description and analysis of the other variables will demonstrate that everything relates and often even originates from this one. It is only possible to understand them in the light of this sole *Causality* factor to which each and every person has to subscribe. Whether this really happens or not is an entirely different matter, as we also saw. The 'folk' explanation in the time of Isaiah often tried to find other solutions to their questions of power and desire to manipulate the *Causality* factor. Yet, the ultimate measurement of the acceptability, or rather, unacceptability of this behaviour always leads back to the LORD as the one who is in control. This fundamental principle is particularly underscored in the following texts:

Yet, O LORD, you are our Father;
we are the clay, and you are our potter;
we are all the work of your hand (64.8)

and

All these things my hand has made,
and so all these things are mine,
says the LORD (66.2)

The LORD is not only the ultimate power, but he is also the creator and therefore owner of everything. In other words, the *Causality* variable constitutes the central cause and controlling

power around which everything revolves and against which everything has to be measured on the basis of standards defined by the one who constitutes and administers this power.

In addition to this the LORD also has absolute control over nature and can use it to manifest his power and authority. Nature as such is therefore not considered to be a neutral area outside the realm of human or divine control. It is an instrument controlled by the LORD to emphasize his authority (see also Simkins, 1994:31). The mountains quake at his presence (64.1 and 3), he is able to divide the waters of the sea (63.12), and he controls the course of the sun and the moon (60.19 and 20).

It is also clear that most, if not all the divine requirements are in the area of morally acceptable or unacceptable behaviour, which is the domain in which the lexical items that are the subject of this study cover the negative component, the unacceptable behaviour. This already provides an important clue for the background against which further semantic analysis will have to take place. Any lexical study in the book of Isaiah cannot be separated from the governing world view variable on which the message is based, namely, the LORD.

3.4.2. *Self* and *Other* in the book of Isaiah

How does the prevailing world view that underlies the book of Isaiah define *Self*? And, intertwined with this question, how then is the *Other* defined? And how do these two relate to each other? As it was stated under 2.3.3.2., these two variables provide the members of a culture with an understanding of the nature of the human universe and the way one deals with internal and external relationships.

The previous Section, 3.3.4.1., clearly demonstrated that none of the world view variables can be analyzed without considering their intimate relationship with *Causality*. Unlike western cultures, where the individual, the *Self*, is the starting point from which reality is analyzed and categorized, the role of *Self* in the world view of the book of Isaiah has to be defined in a markedly different way, as the analysis will show. Identity does not depend on who the individual is, but on how one relates to *Causality*. The focus is on relationship with the LORD, the crucial variable in the world view system under investigation. This also determines one's relationship with the *Other*. In other words, persons only exist on the basis of their relationship with the LORD. If this relationship is disturbed or broken, the nature of *Self* and *Other* is affected in such a way that their very existence is threatened and ultimately impossible, although there is a possibility for continuation at the prerogative of divine *Causality*, as was demonstrated in 3.3.4.1.

The question, however, needs to be raised whether *Self* as an individual can be distinguished from *Other*. In other words, can these two concepts be recognized at all, or do they coincide

completely? This phenomenon of individual vs. group identity was described by Rogerson (1978:55) who noted about the Hebrew Bible that

there was fluidity about the limits to a person's individuality, so that a personality might merge with that of a larger group to which an individual belonged, or might merge with other personalities in the group.

The analysis will show to what extent this also applies to the book of Isaiah. Another question to be addressed is: Can *Self* only be defined in terms of the community to which one belongs, the community that maintains a good relationship with the LORD, and is *Other* simply the community that does not maintain such a relationship with the LORD? These questions require a careful investigation of the text.

3.4.2.1. Personal pronouns

The most logical area to start the investigation is the use of personal pronouns and their referents. In this research I will restrict myself to 1st and 2nd person singular independent personal pronouns only, since in biblical Hebrew they can give some indication of someone's individuality from a semantic point of view.

The first pronouns to look at are obviously the independent 1st person singular pronouns אֲנִי and אֲנִי.²⁰ The first pronoun (אֲנִי) occurs 57 times in the book of Isaiah: Isa 10:14; 13:3; 19:11; 23:14; 27:3; 37:24,25; 38:10; 41:4,4,13,13,14,17; 42:6,8,9; 43:3,13,15; 44:5,6; 45:2,5,6,7,8,12,18,19,21,22; 46:4,4,4; 47:8,10; 48:12,12,12,13,15,15,16,17; 49:21,26; 56:3; 57:11,12,16; 60:16,22; 61:8; 63:1; 65:18; 66:22.

The following referents can be detected:

- The LORD – total number of references: 47. In 27 cases the LORD is mentioned either in the same verse or in the verse that immediately precedes the one with the pronoun. Two of these refer to *God* (43.13; 45.22).
- A king (Sennacherib/Hezekiah) – three references.
- An individual other than a king – seven references. It should be noted here that without exception these pronouns are used collectively, i.e. the pronoun generally represents a group of people. For example in Isa 49.21 both occurrences of אֲנִי refer to *Zion*, where *Zion* does not represent an individual, but rather the inhabitants of the city who apparently complain about the wrongs done to the city during the time of Nebuchadnezzar (Watts, 1987:189).

²⁰ It is generally accepted that אֲנִי is the later form (Joüon & Muraoka, 1993: 119-120). The implications of this observation are not within the scope of this study.

The second one, **אֲנִי**, occurs 26 times in the book of Isaiah: Isa 6:5,5; 8:18; 21:8,8; 43:11,11,12,25,25; 44:24; 45:12,13; 46:9; 49:15,25,25; 50:5; 51:12,12,15; 54:11,16,16; 66:13; 66:18.

The patterns are similar to the previous one. The referents are as follows:

- The LORD – total number of references: 19. In 11 cases the LORD is mentioned either in the same verse or in the verse that immediately precedes the one with the pronoun. In one of these cases the reference is to *God* (Isa 46.9).
- There are six references to individuals, divided as follows:
 - three references to the prophet himself (all in a prose context), two of which occur in Chapter 6, the commissioning of Isaiah and one in 8.18, where Isaiah seals his testimony;
 - two references to the watchman (Isa 21.8,8) in an oracle about Babylon. The opinions differ as to whom the watchman represents. According to Watts (1985:271) “this must be someone in Jerusalem who is deeply involved in the party that supports Babylon’s policies.” Seitz (1993:165-6) comes to a similar conclusion. In this interpretation it is clear that this person is put there on behalf of many. Another plausible interpretation is that the watchman (or seer) is the prophet himself who sees the disaster emanating from Babylon as a ‘whirlwind in the Negeb’ (Snijders, 1985:208). This interpretation still fits within one of the described categories used for 1st person singular independent personal pronouns.
 - one reference (50.5) is to the leader of the movement to restore the Temple (Watts, 1987:197). Hanson interprets this differently. The section (50.4-11) is one of the so-called servant-songs. “Through personal suffering there steadily grows the capacity to uplift a community that has been driven close to spiritual defeat by the fierce blows of history” (1995:141). Both interpretations indicate that one person represents the community.
 - And finally there is one reference (54.11) to a king.

There are 28 references of the 2nd person masculine singular pronoun, **אַתָּה**: Isa 7:3,16; 14:10,13,19; 25:1; 33:1; 37:10,11,16, 16, 20; 38:1,17; 41:8,9,16; 43:1,26; 44:17,21; 45:15; 48:4; 49:3; 51:16; 63:16; 64:4,7

The patterns do not differ significantly from the 1st person singular pronouns in terms of referents:

- In nine cases the pronoun refers to God or LORD (25.1; 37.16,16,20; 38.17; 45.15; 63.16; 64.4[5],7) and once to a god (44.17)

- In eight cases the referent is a king or a power represented by a king (7.16; 14.10,13,19; 33.1; 37.10,11; 38.1).
- In nine cases the pronoun represents a group, namely the people of Israel, sometimes called *Jacob* or *Zion* (41.8,9,16; 43.1,26; 44.21; 48.4; 49.3; 51.16).
- There is one reference to the prophet (7.3).

The second person feminine singular pronoun *אַתְּ* only occurs three times in the book of Isaiah. In two cases (51.9,10) it refers metaphorically to *the arm of the LORD* and in the third occurrence it refers to *the people of Jerusalem* (51.12).

3.4.2.2. Conclusions on personal pronouns

The analysis of the use of singular independent personal pronouns in the book of Isaiah leads to the following conclusions:

1. In the majority of cases the independent pronouns refer to the LORD or to God. There are few references to persons as individuals.
2. The cases where individuals are referred to are either leaders of their people or they represent the group as a whole to which they belong. Some of these uses are figurative, often in terms of a metaphor (the arm of the Lord) or a synecdoche (Zion).
3. The only strictly individual references to people are those that refer to the prophet in a context where he receives a specific commission from the LORD for the task to which he is being called. Whether this is a case of a personality extending into another person, “so that no difference was perceived by a prophet between himself and God (Rogerson, 1989:18)” will not be discussed here.
4. In terms of the *Self–Other* variable, the use of independent personal pronouns in the book of Isaiah confirms that individuality is not being addressed, and is therefore probably not a prominent issue in the world view in the book of Isaiah.
5. The distinction between *Self* and *Other* does not usually coincide with the distinction of the individual person vs. a group. In the world view of the book of Isaiah the personal view point is apparently irrelevant for the perception and categorization of reality.

3.4.2.3. Community and identity

From the discussion and analysis of the use of pronouns it appears that the notion of *community* is very significant for the identification of both *Self* and *Other*. Furthermore it seems that this observation coincides to some extent with a typology made by the German sociologist Tönnies (1963 [original date of publication 1887]) based on his analysis of the existence and development

of social structures in Western Europe from the medieval period to the enlightenment. He distinguishes two types of social structure:

1. *Gemeinschaft* ('community'). An intimate and exclusive social group with a common habitat and common intellectual interests. The relationship to material objects is secondary to the mutual relationships of the members of the community among themselves; material objects are typically used and possessed in common.
2. *Gesellschaft* ('society'). A complex network of legal and moral relations, essentially rational in its foundation. The relationship of individuals to material objects has priority.

This typology has been the basis of different sociological analyses of the Old Testament (Mendenhall, 1973; Mayes, 1989; Carter, 1996). It is probably an over-simplification to transplant this European analysis of a European situation directly to a context in the Ancient Near East at a different point in time, in a different culture, and at a different stage in its development. Nevertheless, it could be argued that in Isaiah 56-66 one of the issues is the conflict between two different perceptions: the prophet's (representing the LORD's) rural *Gemeinschaft* perception and the people's urbanized *Gesellschaft* perception.

Given the extensive use of metaphors in prophecy in general and in Trito-Isaiah in particular, it is proper to make a few very brief comments about the use of metaphor and its significance for world view analysis, before illustrating the observations above. The question that arises is: If the analysis is based on metaphorical language, is it still appropriate to draw conclusions about the underlying world view? In fact, it appears to me that metaphor provides stronger links to the world view of its users than non-figurative language. It may be assumed that the use of metaphor is intended to provide "an easily accessible non-literal interpretation (Hermanson, 1995:31)" of particular utterances. In order to make this possible the author assumes a context in which the reader does not even consider a literal interpretation of the utterance. If we define *context* as "the set of premises used in interpreting an utterance (Sperber & Wilson, 1988:15)" it is clear that these premises must refer to "a subset of the hearer's [or reader's] belief about the world." It is then also clear that with respect to form, content and function metaphor "helps to reveal something about the world view of the users" (Hermanson, 1995:35). Or in the words of Simkins (1994:117), "Metaphors are rooted in culture; they are based on a culturally shared perception of reality." In fact, metaphor "is not just a matter of language...the human perception system is metaphorically structured and defined" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:6).

The conflict between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* perception finds its expression most clearly in the first chapters of Trito-Isaiah, having its most explicit manifestation in 56.11b:

The shepherds also have no understanding;
they have all turned to their own way,
to their own gain, one and all.

This sentence summarizes the behaviour that has been described in the preceding metaphors from 56.9-11a. Terms such as *devour*, *blind*, *without knowledge*, *silent*, *dreaming*, *lying down*, *slumber*, *mighty appetite*, *never have enough* are used to describe the characteristics of Israel's leadership, coinciding exactly with the definition of *Gesellschaft*, which says that "the relationship of individuals to material objects has priority."

The result is also pointed out:

The righteous perish,
and no one takes it to heart; (57.1a)

The condemnatory evaluation of their behaviour follows in 57.3ff. where this kind of leadership is described in the most derogatory terms: *children of a sorceress*, *offspring of an adulterer and a whore*, *children of transgression*, *offspring of deceit*. It is obvious from the text that this kind of behaviour is considered very negatively. In other words, one of the main consequences of a social structure defined as *Gesellschaft* is that it meets with the harshest judicial assessment.

On the other hand, a more positive picture emanates when the situation is viewed from the perspective of one of the characteristic features of *Gemeinschaft*, namely, that "the relationship to material objects is secondary to the mutual relationships of the members of the community among themselves; material objects are usually used and possessed in common." In the first place, it is safe to assume that the opposite of what is described above in negative terms is now considered positively.

Secondly, the final chapter of Trito-Isaiah illustrates the positive assessment of common possession very well, although it should be noted that the following text does not necessarily refer to material objects.

For thus says the LORD:
I will extend prosperity to her like a river,
and the wealth of the nations like an overflowing stream;
and you [pl] shall nurse and be carried on her arm,
and dandled on her knees.
As a mother comforts her child,
so I will comfort you [pl];
you [pl] shall be comforted in Jerusalem. (66.12-13)

In these verses *her* refers to Jerusalem as a metaphor for a woman who has just born her children (66.8) and those people who are loyal to YHWH shall be counted among her children (Beuken, 1989b:120) and share in the common possession of prosperity (שְׁלוֹם) and wealth (כְּבוֹד).

Other indications of assumed commonality in terms of property are in the metaphorical references of 65.10ff. to the concept of the shepherds and their flocks. It is generally recognized that in pastoralist societies property of the land is considered to be communal rather than individual (de Vaux, 1988:165; McNutt, 1999:73-74). It is obvious that pastoralism is presented here as the ideal with which people are supposed to comply in terms of communality.

Another significant element of the *Self*-concept has not yet been mentioned. This element is in sharp contrast with one of the characteristics of the *Gemeinschaft*, namely the aspect of a common habitat. It appears that common habitat is an irrelevant element in Trito-Isaiah as far as *Self-Other* is concerned. The issue is not habitat, but loyalty to the LORD of Israel. This is particularly evident in 56.6-7:

And the foreigners who join themselves to the LORD,
to minister to him, to love the name of the LORD, and to be his servants,
all who keep the sabbath, and do not profane it, and hold fast my covenant—
these I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer;
their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar;
for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples.

This perspective is in sharp contrast to the general expectation among the people of Israel who apparently assumed that an important criterion was ethnically belonging to God's people and thereby implying that membership coincided with the geographical boundaries assigned in the past by God to the people of Israel. The return from exile, which is the historical context of Trito-Isaiah, was seen by many as a confirmation of this fact. However, the essential hallmark of belonging is given at the beginning of Trito-Isaiah: maintain justice and do what is right (56.1b). If that condition is met, even unexpected categories can belong to God's people, i.e. be included in the *Self*-concept that the prophet tries to communicate: eunuchs, foreigners, outcasts, or even *all peoples*, as the end of 56.7 says.

At the same time it seems that geographical location matters when the prophet regularly refers to *bringing them to my holy mountain, Zion, or Jerusalem*. The passage in which this is expressed most plainly and which combines some of the elements discussed relevant to the definition of *Self*, is 66.18-21:

For I know their works and their thoughts, and I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory, and I will set a sign among them. From them I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish, Put, and Lud—which draw the bow—to Tubal and Javan, to the coastlands far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations. They shall bring all your kindred from all the nations as an offering to the LORD, on horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says the LORD, just as the Israelites bring a grain offering in a clean vessel to the house of the LORD. And I will also take some of them as priests and as Levites, says the LORD.

In spite of several exegetical and textual difficulties which will not be discussed here a number of points can be concluded (cf. Beuken 1989b:131-143; Watts, 1987: 358-366):

- The circle of people belonging to *Self*, from the perspective of the prophet, is wider than just Israel, but includes all directions around the Mediterranean, symbolic for a world wide representation.
- Loyalty to the LORD is the single criterion for inclusion, but as such it serves as the locative-thematic centre, as it were, for the book of Isaiah. Even foreigners can serve in his worship and they are treated equally with the Israelites. Or, as Becking puts it, “ ‘Being Israelite’ had changed from ‘belonging to the Judean nation’ to ‘being part of a Jewish family’ ” (1999:3).
- The location has merely symbolic meaning. The holy mountain of Jerusalem is used as a metaphor for the house of the LORD, as in 56.7, where *my holy mountain* is also parallel to *my house of prayer*.

Finally, it is again noted that the prophet paints the ideal perspective, while the perspective of the people clearly contradicts this ideal. The prophet uses several negative qualifications to make this point clear: *blind sentinels* (56.9); *shepherds without understanding* (56.10); *children of sorceress* (57.3); *the wicked* (57.21); *adversaries and enemies* (59.19; 66.14); *a rebellious people* (65.2).

3.4.2.4. Conclusions Self-Other

In addition to the conclusions in 3.3.4.2.2. a number of conclusions can be added to further define the *Self-Other* variable:

1. The preceding analysis of 3.3.4.2.3. fully confirms the conclusions that were drawn on the basis of the pronominal analysis.
2. In all aspects of his message the prophet continually addresses the community as an identity, or at least as a group that is supposed to portray a certain idealized identity. Issues such as justice, righteousness, redemption are not considered in the light of individual behaviour but as ideals that are supposedly lived and practiced by the community.
3. Defining one's belonging to that community is dependent on loyalty to the LORD, not on geographic or ethnic identity.
4. The basic division that characterizes the *Self-Other* variable is *Loyalty to the LORD* vs. *Non-loyalty to the LORD*.

3.4.3. *Space* in the book of Isaiah

3.4.3.1. Horizontal *Space*

The previous section already made some reference to the variable of *Space* in the book of Isaiah, particularly *Space* in terms of an area dedicated to the worship of the LORD. There are several references in which this dedicated *Space* plays an important role in the identification of those ones who belong to God's people. It should be noted that spatial references such as *Jerusalem*, *Zion*, *the holy mountain*, *Israel*, *the land* and *the house of prayer* play a central role in the prophecies of Isaiah. These references also determine to a large extent the directional orientation in the book. The above lexical items represent the centre that constitutes the focus of orientation. There is a movement either towards (in case of belonging to *Self*) or away from (in case of belonging to *Other*) the centre. In other words, *Space* can help to identify the relationship with *Causality* in terms of belonging to *Self* or to *Other*.

The ultimate purpose is to be brought "to my holy mountain Jerusalem (66.20)²¹." That is the centre where "all flesh shall come to worship before me, says the LORD" (66.23b). Jerusalem is thus clearly positioned as the symbolic centre of the universe, albeit the religious universe. At the same time, however, there is an obvious reference to the actual political situation in the Ancient Near East. For example, in 63.18 and 64.10 there is a description of the state of Jerusalem and the temple after the destruction by fire and military might of the Babylonians. But to make a distinction between the actual historical situation and an eschatological description of the hope of Israel after the Exile is not easy (Bright, 1988:367/8 and 452/3).

Furthermore, the often metaphorical use of terms referring to *Space* does not always make it easy to distinguish between actual references to a specific point on earth and figurative references of major religious significance (see also: Clements, 1980:107/8). In Trito-Isaiah the latter group clearly form the majority, while the first category (the physical references) often illustrate the second category in order to underline and reinforce the overall religious significance.

Trito-Isaiah contains 9 references to *Jerusalem*: 62:1,6,7; 64:10; 65:18,19; 66:10,13,20:

- The 3 references in Chapter 62 all have religious overtones and portray Jerusalem as the city where the LORD will accommodate the people that he will gather, as described in Chapter 61. However, there also appears to be a clear reference to the actual historical situation as well,

²¹ In view of the unity of the book of Isaiah, it is significant to note that this movement towards Zion does not only start in Isaiah 56, but is already present in Isaiah 49-56. Abma (1997) has made this point in a very convincing way. Abma argues that "the return [from Babylon] to Zion is the central issue in Isaiah 49-55 (7)."

where there is concern about the stability of Jerusalem after the return from exile (cf. Nehemiah).

- In 64.10 there is a lament of the people about the desperate situation in which they find themselves. They pray for salvation and appeal to the LORD's compassion, assuming that he too suffers when the holy places have become desolate. Again there is a religious overtone with respect to the actual situation in which there is a reference to the destruction of the temple. The context indicates that the real grounds for the concerns are spiritual: "There is no one who calls on your name" (64.7a). As a result of this spiritual problem Jerusalem has become a desolation.
- The 2 references in Chapter 65 both occur in a section in which the blessings are being described that will be received by those who follow the LORD. In both cases *Jerusalem* is parallel to *his people*. Again it shows that the major emphasis is on the spiritual aspect, the rebuilding of his community, the one included within the *Self* variable.
- Similar comments apply to the 3 references in Chapter 66. Although not unconnected with the historical situation, the major thrust of these references is on the spiritual restoration. The 7 references to Zion (59:20; 60:14; 61:3; 62:1,11; 64:10; 66:8) do not differ significantly from those to Jerusalem. In the first place, three of these references are in a parallel position to Jerusalem (62.1; 64.10; 66.8) and therefore basically have the same function as Jerusalem in those contexts. The remaining references have clear religious significance in terms of salvation and redemption:
 - In 59.20 there is an explicit connection between *Zion* and *redemption* for those who expect the coming of the LORD confidently.
 - In Chapter 60 the use of 2nd person singular feminine pronouns suggests that the city, Zion, is being addressed. Only in 60.14 is the name Zion mentioned. Zion is being portrayed as the centre of religion and worship, although there may be some political connotations as well (Watts, 1987:296). The names of God and the city are closely connected with each other (Beuken, 1989a:176).
 - In 61.3 *those who mourn in Zion* parallels *all who mourn*. They are the ones who will be comforted. This again appears to have both religious and political connotations.
 - Similarly, the *daughter Zion* in 62.11 represents the righteous population of the city (cf. 62.1-2). These holy representatives are identified as the recipients of salvation (cf. 62.12).

Most of the other references to *Space* orientation also play a role in the identification of *Zion*, *Jerusalem*, *my holy mountain* or *my house (of prayer)* as belonging to God's people, the *Self*:

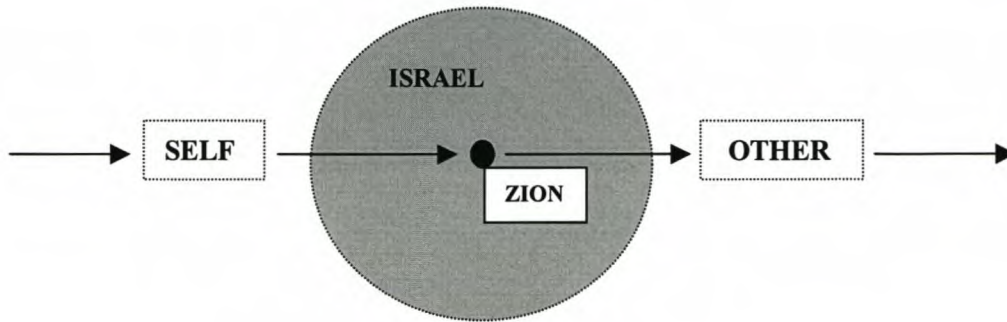
- In 56.5 and 7 the phrases *in my house*, *within my walls*, *to my holy mountain*, and *in my house of prayer* all are meant to indicate to the reader that these are the people who belong to the *Self* category, as opposed to the *Other*. The use of the prepositions makes clear that the directional orientation is focused on this place.
- Not belonging to the *Self* means being *cut off* from this *Space* (57.5e). The preposition *from* in connection with Jerusalem has negative implications for the LORD's enemies (66.6).
- Belonging to *Self* also means possessing *the land* and inheriting *the holy mountain* (57.13b; 60.21a).
- The central positioning of this *Space* is directly linked with the LORD's holy presence, as is clear from 57.15a:

For thus says the high and lofty one
who inhabits eternity, whose name is Holy:
I dwell in the high and holy place,
and also with those who are contrite and humble in spirit

This idea of figuratively linking the *Space* with the presence of the LORD is also expressed in 62.4, 9.

- To be included in the *Space* is positive. It represents not only the LORD's saving presence, but also moral perfection and eschatological joy and delight (65.18-20, 25b).
- Sin, iniquity, or hostility towards the LORD means destruction of the positive connotations of this *Space* (63.18; 64.10, 11) and at the same time provides the explanation for the physical destruction of Jerusalem and the temple.

The issues discussed so far can be considered as being concerned with horizontal *Space*. They give an indication of the way things relate to each other and, more importantly, where the centre is and how one relates to this centre. Figure 9 provides a simplified visualization of the concept of horizontal *Space* in Trito-Isaiah. At the same time the diagram gives an indication of the orientation of the *Self* and *Other* variables. The centre of the diagram represents the religious and political centre, expressed in the text as *Jerusalem*, *Zion*, *the holy mountain*, or *the house of prayer*. The orientation towards or away from this centre determines one's belonging to *Self* or *Other*. The wider gray circle represents *the land* or *Israel*. The fact that both arrows of the *Self* and of the *Other* penetrate the land are an indication that physical presence in the land or ethnic belonging to Israel do not determine one's identification as *Self* or *Other*. The direction of one's orientation with respect to *Zion* is much more significant. Both *Self* and *Other* can originate within the borders of the land as well as outside.

Figure 9: Horizontal *Space* in Trito-Isaiah

3.4.3.2. Vertical *Space*

From a different perspective there is also an indication of vertical *Space* in Trito-Isaiah, although the evidence is less abundant than for the horizontal *Space*. Here too, we find some directional orientation. There is a clear division from high to low in terms of vertical *Space*. This also offers insight into the directional orientation: the movement from high to low coincides with a value judgment moving from positive to negative.

1. At the high level the text talks of heaven, the place where the LORD resides. In 63.15 the LORD is asked to look down from heaven and see. At the same time *heaven* is also described as *your holy and glorious habitation*. In Chapter 66 the LORD describes heaven as his throne and the lower position of earth is also clearly expressed: *the earth is my footstool*. The passage makes also clear that from the perspective of the LORD the centre as it appears in the horizontal *Space* is of no major significance in terms of its physical structures:

what is the house that you would build for me,
and what is my resting place?
All these things my hand has made,
and so all these things are mine,
says the LORD. (66.1b-2a)

2. There is an intermediate level between heaven and earth. These are the elevated places for worship, named *holy mountain*, (56.7; 57.13; 65.11, 25; 66.20), always connected with worship and true sacrifice by the *Self* and thus considered as a positive aspect. הַרְבֵּנוּ, *high place*, similarly has positive connotations in connection with the worship of the LORD (58.14).

At the same time it should be noticed that there is a similar religious idea from the perspective of the *Other*. Here too the element of worship is connected with elevation (57.7; 65.7), but such false worship is regarded as an abomination to the LORD.

3. The level of the earth is where human beings live and which is unworthy in comparison with heaven. This is well illustrated by 60.2, where earth is associated with darkness until the glory of the LORD appears, and 66.1 where the earth functions as the footstool of the LORD. Furthermore *earth* is seen as an extension of *Israel* as the widest possible area to be brought into fellowship with the LORD (62.7,11). Finally it is important to notice that the LORD (*Causality*) is the creator of the earth and everything in it (65.17; 66.22) with the purpose of worshipping the LORD. This point is also made clear in 64.8 in the metaphor of the clay and the potter. It is significant to notice that humanity is identified with clay a product of the earth.
4. The lowest level, the underworld, is not prominently present in Trito-Isaiah, although there are direct and indirect references to it. The most obvious one is in 57.9 where the word *Sheol* is mentioned. The context is one of pagan ritual, totally unacceptable to the LORD. In this passage it is in fact directly related to worship on *the high and lofty mountain* (57.7a), and the wider context shows that this is an abomination to the LORD. Indirect references can be found in 65.3 and 66.17. In both cases the word *garden* is used. This is also connected with pagan ritual behaviour, and as such it meets with God's judgment. In the immediate context of 65.3 the ritual practice is directly linked with sitting *inside tombs* (65.4).

3.4.4. *Time in the book of Isaiah*

As is the case with *Space*, *Time* is a variable that is supposed to bring a measurable note of constancy in the cognitive system of a given culture. *Time* can also serve as a gauge to assess the change that occurs in that particular culture.

It appears that *Time* is a rather 'fuzzy' and diffuse concept in Isaiah as in prophetic literature in general. A few causes of this perceived lack of precision can be identified:

1. It is generally agreed that linguistically biblical Hebrew does not draw very sharp lines in terms of temporal precision. Joüon & Muraoka (1993:353) describes the question of tenses and moods as "the most difficult in Hebrew syntax." Van der Merwe et al. (1999:142) notes the same problem, ascribing it mainly to the fact that Hebrew was forced into a "time" straightjacket. They identify as the core problem "the interwovenness of *aspect* and *time*" in the verbal system. From a western perspective this often leads to the impression that an imprecise concept of time exists in biblical Hebrew.
2. The poetic genre in particular makes it difficult to draw firm time boundaries. Joüon & Muraoka say

The use of tense is not subject to absolutely rigid rules; in Hebrew, as in any language, an author enjoys a certain grammatical freedom. In poetry the choice of a particular form may not always be dictated by grammatical considerations, but, for instance, by some metrical necessity. A form which originally has a very precise meaning may come to lose this meaning as a result of too frequent or too wide a use (1993:353).

The prophetic genre adds another complication to the time element of a text. The historical references in Isaiah are few and fairly general and in some instances hard to verify objectively. Trito-Isaiah contains no explicit references to a historical context (Gray, 1912:ix; Hanson, 1975:33; Watts, 1985:xxix). Given the complex history of the origins of the book, this is probably intended. The author(s)/redactor(s) may have intentionally detached the contents of the book from their precise historical context in order to attach more universal validity and applicability to its message. Clements (1996:5) talks about a necessary “de-politicizing” and “de-historicizing” that has taken place in the process of preserving and shaping the individual sayings into scrolls or books. Beuken (1986:10) notes that “the historical framework in which the prophet works does not necessarily coincide with the religious drama unfolded in his oracles, but is also not necessarily detached from it.” This describes the ambiguity of *Time* in prophetic discourse very well. This ambiguity is only reinforced by the fact that parts of Trito-Isaiah can be seen as apocalyptic literature, which by its very nature is multi-referential in its historical designations.

3.4.4.1. Cyclic time

In spite of the restrictions noted above there are some clear indications in the text with regard to *Time*, particularly in terms of what the anthropologist Leach (1966:125) calls “the notion of repetition” and what others call “cyclic time” (Hiebert, 1983:358). From this perspective time is seen as “a continual rerun of persons and events” (Hiebert, 1983:358). This occurrence of repetitive *Time* markers in Trito-Isaiah is also closely connected with the *Causality* variable. The main temporal element in this respect is the sabbath, although this too is, like *Zion*, largely symbolic in nature. The sabbath is explicitly called *my holy day* (58.13), a day that is specifically set aside for the LORD. On that day one is not supposed to pursue one’s own interests. “The sabbath is an area that one should not enter with his/her own activities” (Beuken, 1989:117). It should be fully dedicated to the LORD. Only then can one “ride upon the heights of the earth” (58.14). Note that the connection between *Time* and *Space* is explicated, and thus emphasized here. The heights are a signification of moving upward in terms of vertical *Space*, something to be evaluated positively (see 3.3.4.3.2.). Both *Time* and *Space* are brought in immediate connection with dedication to ultimate *Causality*, i.e. the LORD.

Furthermore it should be noted that the observation of the sabbath is a determining factor in deciding whether one belongs to *Self* or *Other*. This is particularly clear in 56.6 and 7:

6 And the foreigners who join themselves to the LORD,
to minister to him, to love the name of the LORD,
and to be his servants,
all who keep the sabbath, and do not profane it,
and hold fast my covenant—
7 these I will bring to my holy mountain,
and make them joyful in my house of prayer;
their burnt offerings and their sacrifices
will be accepted on my altar;
for my house shall be called a house of prayer
for all peoples.

In 3.3.4.2. it was demonstrated that belonging to *Self* or *Other* depended on one's orientation towards *Causality*. Here it is made clear that one of the characteristics of the right orientation is in the keeping of the sabbath, i.e. in the correct observation of the rules that mark *Time* in terms of a cyclic event designed to give expression to the right attitude and commitment towards *Causality*. Those who do not observe this crucial symbolical *Time* variable do not and cannot belong to *Self*. At the same time this passage too demonstrates the close connection with *Space* in this respect. The presence on the holy mountain, in the house of prayer, depends on the correct observation of this essential *Time* element.

Isa 66.23 is another clear example of the cyclic element of the *Time* variable as a crucial indicator in the life of the people of the LORD. Both the new moon and the sabbath are identified as important markers against which *Time* is to be measured. Both are earmarked for dedication to the LORD as is clear from the phrase "all flesh shall come to worship before me" (see also Num 28.11-15).

Two other *Time* concepts with primarily cyclic notions occur parallel to each other in 61.2 and 63.4. In both verses the *year of the LORD's favor* (or *for my redeeming work*) is in a parallel relationship with *the day of the vengeance of our God*. The fact that *year* and *day* are paralleled suggests that linear time is not intended. Rather there is an apparent reference to the year of Jubilee (Lev 25.10), a cyclic point in time when properties were supposed to be restored. These connotations are also apparent in the context of these passages. Apparently the LORD will provide "correction of a situation in which abuse and unjust use of force has been an element" and this correction "must involve both freedom for the victims and punishment of the guilty" (Watts, 1987:303).

3.4.4.2. Linear time

The comments on cyclic time do not inevitably lead to the conclusion that therefore a concept of linear time, which “extends along a uniform scale into the future and past without repeating itself” (Hiebert, 1983:358), is completely absent from the book of Isaiah. Contrary to what Hiebert seems to suggest, these two concepts are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

In the first place some of the elements described as expressions of a cyclic time concept at the same time point towards a linear element. When Isa 66.23 says that “from new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh shall come to worship before me” there is obviously a linear time element directed towards the future in addition to the cyclic element that is dominant. The use of the prepositions in both parallel lines, from one point to the next, suggests a linear movement in time. However, the text also clearly suggests that these points in *Time* are elevated above the rest of *Time*. These are the significant markers in the progression, closely related to the dominating importance of *Causality*. This shows that there is a sharp distinction between sacred and profane *Time*.

The fact that the linear aspect of *Time* has significance is most clearly expressed in 65.20:

No more shall there be in it
an infant that lives but a few days,
or an old person who does not live out a lifetime;
for one who dies at a hundred years will be considered a youth,
and one who falls short of a hundred will be considered accursed.

In this verse the importance of length in terms of *Time* is very explicit. It is directly proportionate to blessings from the LORD that will be bestowed on his people at the creation of the new heavens and a new earth (65.17). The *Causality* variable has also decisive influence on the linear aspect of *Time*.

No other information in terms of a more systematic information about *Time* can be extracted from Trito-Isaiah. It has been observed that “biblical literature which was written just before, during, and after the Exile provides many dates and calendrical hints but....offers no systematic statement about the nature of the calendar(s) employed in Judah” (Vanderkam, 1992:815). Trito-Isaiah is no exception to this observation.

3.4.4.3. Conclusions *Time*

On the basis of the preceding paragraphs the following conclusions with regard to the *Time* variable can be drawn:

- Both a cyclic and a linear concept of *Time* are present in Trito-Isaiah and these cannot be fully separated from each other.

- The dominant relationship of the *Time* variable with *Causality* is crucial in the understanding of *Time* in Trito-Isaiah. Cyclic time does mark the passage of time, but it is more significantly marking the relationship with *Causality*. True commitment and obedience are expressed by observance of *Time* set aside for the worship of the LORD. In other words, “each meaningful event marks the passage of time and thus life itself” (Graburn, 1988:452). A distinction between sacred and profane *Time* is appropriate. Sacred *Time* is characterized as time that is fully dedicated to the LORD.
- There is also a close connection between *Time* on one side and *Self-Other* and *Space* on the other. The correct observation of sacred *Time* is a sign of belonging to *Self* and expressed as being elevated from the profane. It marks the right relationship with *Causality*.

Figure 10 visualizes some of the findings of Sections 3.3.4.3.1 and 3.3.4.3.2. *Time* is represented as a line moving from left to right. The cyclic events, sabbath and new moon are elevated from the profane flow of *Time* and pointing towards *Causality*, symbolizing total commitment to the LORD.

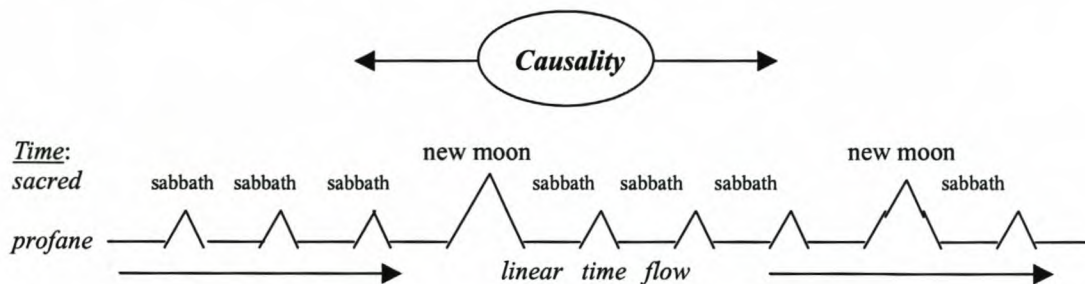


Figure 10: A diagram of *Time* and vertical *Space*

3.4.5. Classification in the book of Isaiah

The tendency to categorize our conceptual world is widespread among cultures. Anthropologists have long recognized this tendency as a major element to be analyzed if insight is to be gained into the way cognitive and other patterns are organized within cultures (Spradley: 1979 and 1980). The approach to componential analysis of meaning is largely based on *Classification*. The major question lies in the definition of the categories employed to classify reality and in particular, in the way cognitive categories can be defined (see Chapter 2). The analysis of the specific lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour, to be described in the next chapter, is a major exercise in *Classification*.

Several aspects of *Classification* have already been discussed extensively in the preceding paragraphs. A major classifying element was the distinction *Self-Other* in close connection with a positive or negative relationship respectively to *Causality*. “Within a cognitively differentiated universe the most fundamental *Classification* categories are *Self* and *Other*” (Kearney, 1984:80). This observation was confirmed in 3.3.4.2.

Another major aspect of *Classification* appeared to be the categorization of *Space*. The exact location both in terms of vertical and horizontal *Space* turned out to be of crucial significance for the way one fits into certain categories. A similar comment can be made about *Time*, particularly the significance of correctly observing cyclic *Time* is a decisive factor in determining the category to which one belongs and the relationship one maintains with *Causality*.

3.4.5.1. Dichotomies

One way to describe any *Classification* is to employ dichotomies. These can clearly bring out issues such as the way a culture categorizes the moral grounds on the basis of which certain behaviour can be evaluated and its consequences predicted. A sample of such dichotomies will be listed here in order to illustrate the main point. They are all drawn directly from Trito-Isaiah 56 and 57.

Positive	Negative
Behaviour: Justice-do what is right; keeping the sabbath-not profaning it; refrain from doing evil-do things that please the LORD; take refuge in the LORD	Behaviour: Devour-blind; lack of knowledge; after own gain; turn to their own way; sorcery; adultery; mockery; transgression; deceit; lust; sacrifice of children; deserting the LORD
Result: Salvation-deliverance; stay at holy mountain-house of prayer-altar; enter into peace-taken away from calamity-rest; possess the land-inherit the mountain	Result: No help from the LORD; carried away by wind; anger of the Lord-be accused; no peace for the wicked-they are like the tossing sea

Figure 11: Positive – negative dichotomy

It again appears that the relationship to *Causality* is essential in the description of the *Classification* variables “positive” and “negative”. At the same time it appears that the type of behaviour one practices is the determining factor in terms of classifying for the categories of either *Self* or *Other*. An important observation in this respect is also the fact that negative moral behaviour in terms of world view variables is determined by the way behaviour relates to

Causality. Moral behaviour is judged negatively because it does not measure up to the standards set by *Causality*. The standards are made clear to the people. Yet they decide not to adhere to them. This aspect of moral behaviour will be described in more detail in the actual componential analysis.

3.4.5.2. Generic—specific

There is a tendency in the book of Isaiah to focus on the generic, rather than on the specific. This is illustrated by the regular use of lexical items such as *אָן*, *חטא*, *עָוֹן*, *פֶּשַׁע*, *רָעָה*, and *רָשָׁע*, without explicating what exactly the behaviour consists of that is qualified by such labels. A reason for this could be the process of “de-historicizing” in order to lift the applicability of the book to a more universal level, as was described in 3.3.4.4.

Yet, it should be noted that there is often a movement from generic to more specific, due to the abundant application of the poetic device of semantic parallelism. In the first place, this device helps to group certain lexical items together in domains. It may be assumed that when lexical items are used within the confines of a semantically parallel structure, there is a movement towards more specificity.

The characteristic movement of meaning [in semantic parallelism] is one of heightening or intensification of focusing, specification, concretization, even what could be called dramatization. ... The rule of thumb, then is that the general term occurs in the first verset and a more specific instance of the general category in the second verset (Alter, 1985:19).

One example (Isa 53.5a) may suffice to illustrate both points. This passage first confirms the observation that there is a tendency towards focusing on the generic lexical choice and secondly, the assumption that semantically parallel structures increase the degree of specificity.

But he was wounded for our transgressions (*מִפְשָׁעֵינוּ*),
crushed for our iniquities (*מֵעֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ*);

Both lexical items, *מִפְשָׁעֵינוּ* and *מֵעֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ*, are generic. The context does not provide any clear clues about the exact nature of the type of behaviour that is being described by these lexical items. A reference to 53.4 talks about *infirmities* and *diseases*. These too are generic labels and, to complicate matters further, they are both used in a metaphorical sense, providing illustrations for the problems by which the people are beleaguered as a result of their negative moral behaviour with respect to *Causality*.

Yet, the same lines also demonstrate a degree of increasing specificity. This intensification is shown in the first place in the development from *wounded* in line a to *crushed* in line b. Parallel

with that is the intensification from *הַפְּשָׁעִי* to *הַמְּעֹזְרִי*. But, even though this may be considered as a case in which the second occurrence is a more specific expression of the first, it is also obvious that the meaning is still rather generic and the difference is only one of nuance, not of substance. The componential analysis of these terms in the next chapter will illustrate this in greater detail.

3.4.6. *Relationship in the book of Isaiah*

In 2.3.3.3. the description of *Relationship* was to a large extent restricted to the necessary interaction between *Self* and *Other*. It appears that in the book of Isaiah no such major concern exists. There is no preoccupation with the relationship between *Self* and *Other*. In fact *Relationship*, like all other variables, is *Causality* oriented. The positive or negative evaluation of that relationship determines one's identity as being part of *Self* or of *Other*. In that sense there is no direct relationship between the two. The prophet tries to convince his audience that it is possible and most desirable to maintain a correct relationship with the LORD. This can be done by observing the moral standards that are spelt out, including the positive and negative consequences of a certain type of behaviour.

At a different level it is possible to say that *Relationship* is significant in deciding one's belonging to the categories *Self* or *Other*. The observance of certain moral obligations that a person supposedly has towards the other person is one of the determining factors in the question of belonging. Isa 59.9-12 clearly illustrates this point. Israel's leaders are compared to wild animals who have come to devour, who are blind and who have a mighty appetite. The text says that they have all turned to their own way and that they are only after their own gain. In other words, the lack of concern for the other person has as its inevitable consequence that one is considered as belonging to the category *Other*. This division is therefore clearly made on moral grounds and affects the *Relationship* with *Causality* negatively.

There are different ways to give expression to the desired *Relationship* with *Causality* and to maintain it properly. Some specific terms used in this area are *sacrifice*, *offering*, *worship*, *holding the covenant*, *prayer*, *seek the LORD*, *praise and minister to the LORD*, and *call on the name*. Without exception the evaluation of these acts of maintaining *Relationship* depends fully on the disposition towards *Causality* of the one responsible for the expression of *Relationship*. In 56.7 their burnt offerings and sacrifices will be accepted on the altar of the LORD, because the ones bringing them—the foreigners—agree with the standards that the LORD has set and observe them in their lives. The same lexical items, offerings and sacrifices, are not acceptable in 57.6 and 7 because of the fact that these are connected with idolatry and are not dedicated to the LORD. In

other words, the positive or negative evaluation of the acts of maintaining *Relationship* in connection with *Causality* is determined by one's disposition to the latter.

It has become evident throughout the analysis of the various world view variables that each one of them is dependent upon its *Relationship* to *Causality*. The grounds for this statement will not be repeated here, for they have been described in detail in each relevant paragraph.

3.5. Summary world view variables in the book of Isaiah

The analysis of 3.3.4. shows some deficiencies of the original Kearney model of world view analysis. The more flexible model that was proposed offers more possibilities for analysis and comparison. The nature and substance of some of the variables in the book of Isaiah differ so much internally that they do not easily fit within one mold with all other variables on an equal footing. This comment particularly applies to the *Classification* and *Relationship* variables. They function at a different level than Kearney suggests. In fact they are in a sense subordinate to the others.

The relationships between the other variables determine to a large extent the nature of the world view of a culture and the way reality is ordered and interpreted. In fact *Relationship* should not function as an independent variable in the book of Isaiah, but it is a crucial aspect in the definition of the other variables in terms of the way they relate to each other in closeness, direction, prominence, and degree of mutuality. This is not only applicable to the relationship between *Self* and *Other* as the original model suggested, but it has a bearing on the relationships between all variables.

Similarly, the variable *Classification* is not analyzed at the same level as the other variables, but rather functions as a variable that further illustrates and defines the differences that occur at world view level. It does show levels and degrees of organization in the cognitive realm of a culture, but this merely helps to delineate and define the way the other variables constitute world view. For example, *Classification* helps to distinguish *Self* from *Other*, and the way each of these variables relates to *Causality*. In a similar way, the categorization of *Space* is an important aspect of world view analysis. In all these cases *Categorization* is an instrument, but on its own it adds no new element to the structure of a world view. It is an extremely helpful tool in the analysis. This is especially true for carrying out componential analysis. In other words, *Categorization* enhances our view of underlying categories and cognitive structures on which world view is built, but in itself it is not a constituting element of world view.

Bearing this in mind, a world view model for the book of Isaiah can be constructed. The analysis has clearly shown that *Causality* is the primary variable of the ideal Isaiah world view. None of

the other variables can be sufficiently described and explained without properly assessing its relationship with regard to *Causality*. If a hierarchy in the prominence and significance of the different world view variables has to be established, it can be deduced from the order in which they have been described in the analysis of 3.3.4.

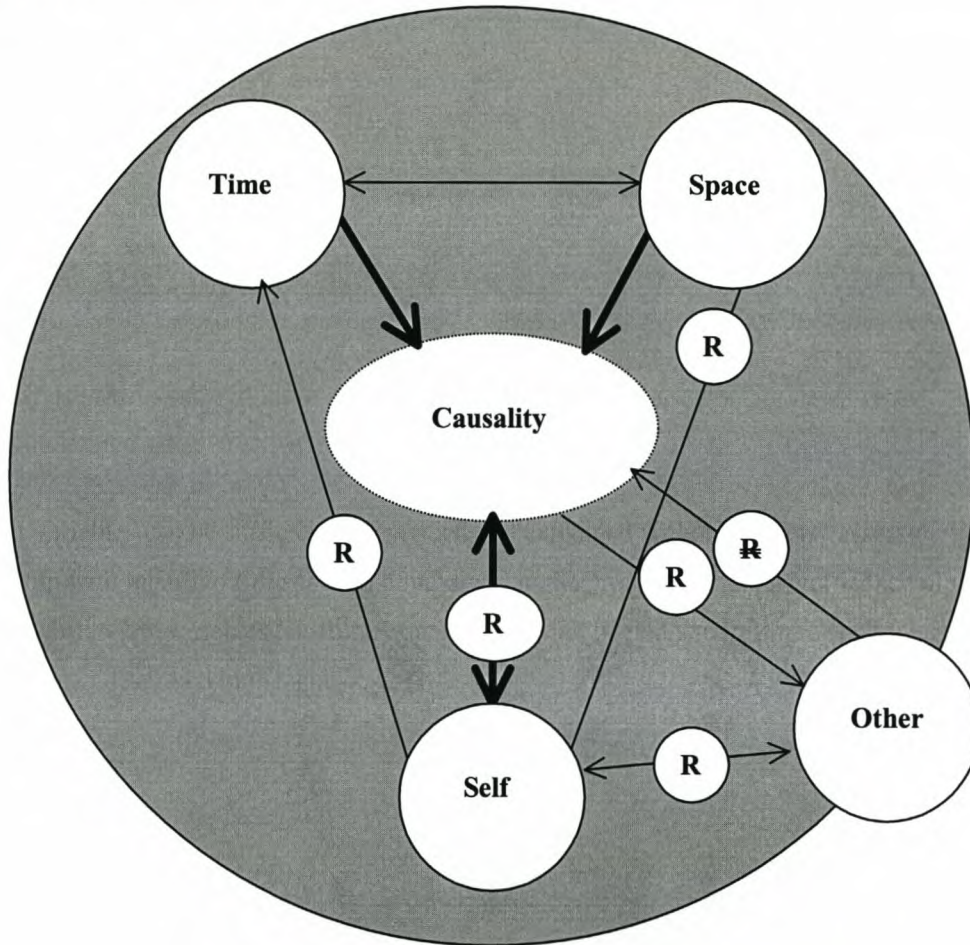


Figure 12: World view variables in the book of Isaiah

The dominant and central position and presence of *Causality* has been visualized in Figure 12. Since *Causality* is supposed to permeate and determine all spheres of life in the book of Isaiah the borders of that variable have been drawn as open permeable lines. The arrows show the direction of orientation. The thickness of the lines shows the intention of the relationships that ideally should exist in the view of the prophet. It is obvious that the dominant orientation is supposed to be towards *Causality*. The orientation of *Other* is towards opposite directions and therefore it actually does not even belong within the picture. It is therefore positioned on the edge of the figure. Yet, there is a line from *Causality* to *Other*. This is based on the section in 3.3.4.1. where

it was noted that there also conflicting perspectives as described in Isa 57.16-18 where the LORD promises that he “will not continually accuse,” nor “always be angry.”

The next chapter will show how and where and to what degree negative moral behaviour affects the relationships that have been expressed in the diagram and how the various lexical items that form the domain of negative moral behaviour relate to each other.

Chapter 5

NEGATIVE MORAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE WORLD VIEW OF ISAIAH

1. Introduction

The chapters on semantics (Chapter 2) and world view (Chapter 3) have provided the broad theoretical background for the analysis of the lexical items belonging to the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah.

In this chapter I will first define the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour, identifying which lexical items should be included in the domain. This will be based on a careful analysis of the most dominant feature in Hebrew poetry, parallelism. It will be demonstrated that semantic parallelism provides a significant tool for defining and delineating the semantic domain. The chapter will provide a detailed analysis of each of the lexical items within the domain, while it will also consider the issue of typicality. An important aspect of this analysis will be the positioning of the domain and each of its lexical items within the world view system prevalent in the book of Isaiah. The linguistic analysis will largely be carried out in accordance with the conclusions and recommendations of Chapter 2 on semantic theory. This means that the exercise will involve a practical attempt to use componential analysis of meaning as a tool, free from its traditional theoretical ties with structural linguistics, using insights and concepts from cognitive linguistics. I use the term *cognitive linguistics* in a broadly defined way, desiring "to focus on the relation between language, meaning and cognition" (Allwood & Gärdenfors, 1998:vii). In addition to that, the relationship with cultural anthropology, and more particularly, world view theory will also be an integrated part of the inquiry on the basis of the analysis carried out in Chapter 3. This too is consistent with one of the tenets of cognitive linguistics which operates on the basis of the presupposition "that there is no separation of linguistic knowledge from general thinking or cognition" (Saeed, 1997:298). It was demonstrated in the previous chapter that world view influences both thinking and behaviour.

Furthermore, it is generally recognized that in cognitive semantics "the emphasis is on lexical meaning, rather than on the meaning of sentences" (Gärdenfors, 1998:20). This analysis is therefore no exception to this general recognition.

The need for such a broad scope in translation research, combining various linguistic tools and approaches with insights from other disciplines, has been clearly demonstrated by Tymoczko (2000) who notes that "it is no longer possible to approach any text in a simple or

unproblematic manner, least of all translations which de facto link two languages and two cultures.”

2. Defining the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour

Thus far I have used Nida's broad definition of a semantic domain which holds that it “consists of any set of meanings which share a significant semantic feature in common” (1979:19). Chapter 2 was devoted to the theoretical implications of the definition of CA and the need to include an approach based on cognitive linguistics. That discussion will not be repeated here. It was already noted that “if anything at all, Cognitive Linguistics is a theory about categorization in and through language” (Geeraerts et al., 1994:13 – See Chapter 2, Section 3.2.1.). The identification of the members of a semantic domain is therefore clearly a starting point that is based on the elementary principle of cognitive linguistics, namely “categorization in and through language.” The basic question is then, which members belong to a category? And what criteria does the language offer to justify the choice of members of a category?

2.1. Parallelism

Apart from the members of the category, the exact boundaries of the domain of negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah should also be identified. In order to do this on a sound basis it is important to take note of the comments of Nida & Louw (1992:109):

The primary criteria for domain classification depend upon consistency with which the grouping of meanings reflects the ‘world view’ of the native speakers. This means that definitions in a lexicon based on semantic domains are not supposed to represent a classification of “things as they are” but of “things as they are perceived and named.”

Although their comments specifically apply to the creation of a lexicon based on semantic domains, they are equally valid for this study which focuses emphatically on the connection between lexical semantics and world view. The text itself (the ‘native speaker’ in this case) should provide the framework for the classification, not the researcher, so that indeed we analyze “things as they are perceived and named.” There is an obvious need to look for clues in the text from which the classification will flow naturally without imposing criteria from outside. In other words, an emic analysis is to be preferred to an etic one (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.). The co-occurrence of particular lexical items in parallel structures is an important intrinsic feature for classification emanating directly from the use of the Hebrew language in the book of Isaiah that enhances the identification of the members of the semantic domain. Parallel structures are a dominant feature in Hebrew poetry. Watson (1984:114) observes that “parallelism is universally

recognized as *the* characteristic feature of Hebrew poetry.” Kuntz (1999:36) notes that “parallelism is widely celebrated as a most formative feature of Hebrew verse.” The intricacies of this poetic device need to be considered carefully in the analysis of the data.

2.1.1. Parallelism and semantics

All modern analyses of parallelism in Hebrew poetry to some extent go back to the seminal work of Robert Lowth (1710-1787). He was the first one to introduce a large degree of systematisation in the analysis of biblical poetry (O’Connor, 1980: 3 and 29-30; Schökel, 1988:2-3; Petersen & Richards, 1992: 21-22; Gillingham, 1994:6-7; Payne, 1994: 126). In fact, it is not an overstatement to say that “Lowth’s notion of parallelism...has shaped the analysis of Hebrew poetry” (Petersen & Richards, 1992: 6). According to Kuntz (1998:52) “Lowth may be named the founder of the modern study of biblical poetry.” Until recently all discussions of biblical poetry were based on the basic premises that he developed in 1778. His main thesis was that “parallel lines may be reduced to three sorts—parallels synonymous, parallels antithetic, and parallels synthetic” (Lowth, 1848:vii [original date of publication: 1778]).

Many different types of parallelism have been distinguished ever since (Schökel, 1988:52; Petersen & Richards, 1992:27-35), but not all have the same bearing on semantic analysis (Berlin, 1985). This by no means suggests that these other divisions do not play a significant role in the analysis of parallelism. In fact, they have carried the understanding of parallelism to levels that go beyond the point of semantics to enter the field of pragmatics.

It was generally felt that the third category of Lowth, synthetic parallelism, was not an adequate category. “Synthetic parallelism had become a summary category for everything in Hebrew poetry that did not belong to synonymous or antithetic parallelism” (Petersen & Richards, 1992:26). A discussion of the full implications of this statement is not within the scope of this study, but suffice it to say that for a complete analysis of parallelism in Hebrew poetry other elements would need to be considered, such as grammatical, morphological and phonological aspects. An inclusion of all these aspects would lead to a more comprehensive picture of the intricacies of parallelism. In other words, semantic parallelism is one of several kinds of parallelism. Lowth’s division into categories of synonymous/antithetic parallelism on one hand and synthetic parallelism on the other had to remain unsatisfactory, since it reduced different aspects of the analysis to only one, namely, the semantic aspect. In fact, it was a comparison between semantic parallelisms with other kinds of parallelism, without recognising that such a distinction existed.

Berlin correctly notes that “if the grammatical aspect [and I would add other aspects as well] provides the skeleton of the parallelism then the lexical aspects are its flesh and blood” (1985:64). As

far as the semantic structure of parallelism (i.e. in terms of semantic relations between the cola) is concerned, it is widely agreed that three types exist: similarity, contrast and correlation (Wendland, 1998:61-100). The influence of Lowth's categories is still clearly visible. The first two types, similarity, i.e. parallelisms with a focus on the synonymous relationship between the cola, and contrast, i.e. parallelisms with a focus on the antonymous relationship between the cola, will prove to be the most helpful for my analysis. I will therefore restrict myself in this analysis to these particular categories of semantic parallelism.

As was noted already, other distinctions can be made as well, but these are less relevant for this study. For example, Kugel, in a clear reaction against Lowth's categories, argues that "Biblical parallelism is of one sort, 'A, and what's more, B,' or a hundred sorts; but it is not three" (1981:58). It is obvious that from the perspective of semantic analysis this is not the most accommodating approach. It does not allow for any precise kind of analysis and hence an application of his model to semantic analysis or semantic domain description cannot lead to significant results. This does not mean that Kugel's approach is invalid. It only implies that for the purpose of this study his approach provides insufficient valuable insights into the semantic aspects of parallelism. This is because it would result in such vague and general observations that it would not bring the object of this research, namely a semantic analysis of lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah, any closer to a satisfactory conclusion.

Another important observation to be made with regard to semantic parallelisms is the point that synonymy/similarity or antonymy/contrast is not necessarily limited to the specific lexical items under investigation. These semantic aspects are largely dependent on the cognitive environment in which they occur. This cognitive environment is constructed by the linguistic context in which the lexical items are employed and to which they are also a contributing factor. A crucial and to a large extent determining issue is the intention of the author in that particular cognitive environment. There are some fundamental points to be considered here.

In the first place this is what some call the *poetic function* of language. Payne defines this as "that aspect of language, where language draws attention to itself i.e. language in which the referring function is backgrounded, and the very form and texture of language as a medium is to the fore" (1994:127). In other words, the referential function of language can be affected by the use of parallelism as a rhetorical device.

Secondly and closely related to this point, is the *communicative intent* of the author. What is the effect of the author's utterances? Is the main goal communicating information? Is emotion the main focus? Or are other issues, such as emphasis or aesthetics the focus of the author's intent?

All these points need to be taken into consideration in the semantic analysis of the lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour.

And finally, the issue of *textuality* needs to be considered. Harker (1999:83) rightly states that a "literary text results from the highly intentional and carefully contrived artifice of its author, and it is through this artifice that the world of the text is created." Taking the book of Isaiah as a literary text would then suggest that it provides its own meaning.

To what extent do these three points have a negative effect on the value of a semantic analysis carried out on the basis of the book of Isaiah? In my opinion none of the points provide any disqualifying arguments for the intended semantic analysis. On the contrary, these points suggest that in spite of the issues at stake there is a highly charged communicative event taking place between the text and the reader. Backgrounding the referring function of the language does not mean that no informative communication at all takes place. It only implies that the focus of communication is other than exclusively referential. If emotional and/or aesthetic issues take precedence, the analysis will have to take that into consideration. As a general rule, however, it can be stated that in order to be effective in these areas a very careful use of the semantic content of the lexical items will be required. In other words, there is no reason to assume that these points make the text less suitable for semantic analytic purposes. The same comments apply to the issue of *textuality*. This too requires a highly skilful use of all rhetoric devices that the author has at his disposal.

2.1.2. Parallelism and word pairs

Suggestions have been made that semantic parallelism in Hebrew poetry largely depends on a limited and fixed number of word pairs (Berlin, 1985:65-72). Watson even goes to the extent of saying that "it has long been known that Hebrew poets used a selection of stock word-pairs" (1984:129). The main thrust of these suggestions is that the authors of biblical poetry simply drew on a stock of fixed word pairs and that therefore little or no creativity was required of the authors. Their only task was supposedly applying the rules attached to the stock of word pairs on which they drew. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that certain authors noticed "word pairs in which there is always a fixed word order: A and then B; never B and then A" (Berlin, 1985:72). How does this view impact my analysis?

Some observations should be made here. In the first place, it has been stated that cognitive linguistics assumes that the human cognitive system is a structure seeking device (see Chapter 2, Section 3.2.2.). In seeking these structures in our cognitive environment, it can only be expected that certain regularities in this environment develop when it comes to lexicalising reality or elements thereof. If, for example, the lexical item אֱמֶת occurs in a synonymous parallelism it can hardly

come as a surprise that in many cases it is complemented by עֲוֹן. This does not entail an indication of a limited stock of word pairs. It only confirms that the human cognitive system is a structure seeking device. This device perceives that in many contexts these two lexical items can be regarded as having a synonymous relationship. The fact that אָמָר in other contexts occurs with other lexical items such as פָּשַׁע confirms the observation that there are no fixed word pairs. This observation only invites a clear description of the various contexts in which the lexical items occur, in order to determine the contribution that these specific lexical items themselves make to their cognitive environment. The semantic analysis should identify the parameters that characterize the particular context that calls for the use of עֲוֹן instead of פָּשַׁע as the preferred synonymous lexical item to אָמָר.

Secondly, the fact that words come in a fixed order does not necessarily imply that there is a limited stock available. It may well be an indication that certain semantic features of a lexical item require that it occurs in a particular position in a semantic parallelism. A comprehensive and systematic analysis will be needed to determine whether this is indeed the case, and if so, under which conditions deviations from this rigid order are possible, if at all. At face value Figure 13 suggests that there is no rigid ordering of the lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour in semantic parallelism. One of the challenges of my analysis is to determine the conditions that govern the positioning of a specific lexical item in the respective cola of a parallel structure.

On the other hand, it has also been stated that "parallelism is not something that is predictable, and so no mechanical system or set of categories can confine it" (Petersen & Richards, 1992:35). However, my analysis will attempt to modify this statement and try to describe specific conditions that make a certain degree of prediction a distinct possibility.

2.1.3. Parallelism and intensification

It should be noted that Kugel's approach to parallelism (2.1.1.) is not fundamentally different from that of Alter (1985), yet the latter seems more relevant for my purpose. In terms of semantic analysis, which is of particular significance for the discussion here, he states the following:

The characteristic movement of meaning [in semantic parallelism] is one of heightening or intensification of focusing, specification, concretization, even what could be called dramatization... The rule of thumb, then is that the general term occurs in the first verset and a more specific instance of the general category in the second verset (19).

Alter admits that there is overlap among these categories, but his main concern is not to develop a semantic taxonomy, but to point to the direction in which the reader can look for meaning. He consistently emphasises the importance of intensification as one of the key operations of specification and heightening within the parallel line (1985:62-84). However, it should be noted that

at no point there is an attempt to define any of these terms. The implications of the terminology for semantic analysis therefore remain rather unspecific. What is meant by intensification?

Intensification of what and for what purpose? In my specific analysis, does this mean that the lexical designation of negative moral behaviour becomes more intense, more focused, more specific, and so on in line B of a parallel pair? The same questions can be posed with regard to all the terms Alter employs to describe the characteristic of meaning. As long as there is no further definition as to what is meant by intensification or any of the other categories, the description of the semantic effect of parallelism does not become any clearer. Any semantic analysis will have to indicate exactly what the semantic implications are of the use of parallelism. As long as this does not happen, no more light is shed on the issue.

Bratcher & Reyburn largely follow the same approach as Alter's in their discussion of parallelism in the book of Psalms. They contend that parallel lines largely operate on the semantic level, which is not necessarily correct, as was demonstrated above. However, they distinguish between dynamic and static parallelism and combinations of the two (1991:5-6). In terms of semantic implications they draw the conclusion that in dynamic parallelism

there will probably be a general term in the first line and poetic intensification in the second line, through the use of a more specific, figurative, or dramatic term or image. In static parallelism the second line merely mirrors the first without sharpening the focus and stepping up the intensification (1991:9).

It is noteworthy to see that both Alter and Bratcher & Reyburn assume that the first line of a parallelism contains the more generic lexical item, while the second line presumably has the more specific (and therefore less generic) lexical item. My analysis of the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah will have to test the validity of this assumption.

To begin with, these authors too do not provide a definition of what exactly is meant by the labels *generic* and/or *specific* or of any of the other terms they employ in the analysis of parallelism.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the distinction between dynamic and static parallelism is extremely difficult to make, if at all it does exist. Assuming that there are no lexical items that are fully synonymous, there is always some kind of dynamic process taking place within semantically parallel lines, due to the simple fact that different lexemes are used which by definition do not have a fully identical semantic range. The use of the notion of emphasis, which is introduced in the discussion of static parallelism (Bratcher & Reyburn, 1991:8), does also point to a dynamic element in parallelism. The analysis of some examples of parallelism in Isaiah further illustrates this point. Isa 5.18:

הוֹי מִשְׁכִּי הָעוֹן בְּחִבְלֵי הַשָּׁוְא	Ah, you who drag iniquity along with cords of falsehood,
וְכַעֲבוֹת הָעֲגָלָה חֲטָאָה:	who drag sin along as with cart ropes,

Line 2 basically repeats what was said in line 1. It does not introduce anything more specific, figurative or dramatic. Both lines are figurative and probably create a similar impact. The only difference in this respect is that line 2 is a simile, while line 1 is a metaphor. This would seem to be a clear case of a static semantic parallelism in terms of Bratcher and Reyburn's definition. But, because of the fact that line 2 repeats line 1 in different terms, line 2 can be considered more emphatic than 1, simply because otherwise repetition would not have been used by the author. In other words, there is a dynamic aspect, apart from the fact that there are other semantic features involved in the switch from עוֹן to חֲטָא, as will be discussed later. Similarly there is a dynamic aspect in the movement from "cords of falsehood" in line 1 to "cart ropes" in line 2. The expression *cords of falsehood* should be viewed as more explicit than *cart ropes*. In the first expression there is an explicit reference to the actually intended meaning, *falsehood*. In the second expression this explication is missing, but can be inferred on the basis of its parallel relationship with the preceding colon. In other words, the distinction *static* versus *dynamic* is arbitrary and not helpful if there is no indication of the definition of the terms. Another example from Isa 53.5a further illustrates this point.

וְהוּא מִחֻלָּל מִפְּשָׁעֵינוּ מִדָּכָא מִעֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ	But he was wounded for our transgressions, crushed for our iniquities;
---	---

Here too a case could be made for a static parallelism. Line 2 mirrors line 1. Again line 2 does not add anything in terms of making line 1 more specific, figurative or dramatic, if I may use the terminology of Alter and Bratcher & Reyburn. It can be argued that פֶּשַׁע and עוֹן are two different ways of talking about breaches of the law. Yet, there is also a dynamic element in the development of the point between line 1 and 2. In the first place the verb which is used in line 2 can be seen as a case of "intensification" in comparison to the one used in line 1. Second, פֶּשַׁע and עוֹן are not just simply two different ways of talking about breaching the law. Each has its own semantic components and contextual application as will be demonstrated later.

It is again confirmed that there are insufficient grounds to make the distinction between static and dynamic parallelism. The distinction is subjective and cannot be based on the intricacies of the text. It therefore is of little relevance for this particular semantic analysis.

Instead of making the distinction *dynamic* versus *static* it may be useful to note that there are differences in the degree to which a parallelism is dynamic. This can be illustrated with the following example from Isa 27.9a:

לָכֵן בְּזָאת יִכָּפֵר עוֹן יַעֲקֹב וְזֶה כָּל-פְּרִי הַסֵּר חַטָּאתוֹ	Therefore by this the guilt of Jacob will be expiated, and this will be the full fruit of the removal of his sin:
---	---

Compared to the examples of Isa 5.18 and 53.5a, there is a very clear increase in dramatic impact in line 2 of this example. The use of the figurative expression “the full fruit of the removal of his חטא” certainly sharpens the image of expiation, which is mentioned in line 1. The level of impact is definitely higher than in the other examples, because of the effective use of a rhetorical device. Nida & Louw rightly suggest that the use of seemingly related words in parallel or analogous contexts, especially within the same type of context, is useful in establishing potential ranges and possible meanings (1992:82), while the possibility that there is simply a rhetorical device for emphasis should also be considered (83).

2.1.4. Parallelism and contrast

Contrastive parallelisms are also very useful for semantic analysis, since they focus specifically on the semantic differences between the parallel lines. A good example is found in Isa 1.27-28 (although it should be noticed that at a different level there is also similarity between the lines).

צִיּוֹן בְּמִשְׁפַּט תִּפְדָּה וְשֹׁבֵיהָ בִצְדָקָה: וְשָׂרֵר פִּשְׁעִים וְחַטָּאִים יִחָדְדוּ וְעִזְבֵי יְהוָה יִכְלֹוּ	Zion shall be redeemed by justice, and those in her who repent, by righteousness. But rebels and sinners shall be destroyed together, And those who forsake the LORD shall be consumed.
---	--

In this example the NRSV clearly marks the contrast by using the conjunction *but* (and not *and* as in KJV) to translate the Hebrew ו.²² In terms of semantic analysis, however, the important point is that the semantic content of lines 1-2 is contrasted with lines 3-4.

The identification of contrastive lexical items is an important aspect of the identification of the semantic domain. If certain lexical items share one specific lexical item as contrastive, this provides also insight into the semantic content of these lexical items, and it can certainly strengthen the assumption that they belong to one semantic domain. It should be clear, however, that this should not be taken as a general rule. The cognitive environment in which the contrast occurs determines to a large extent the usefulness of the observation that a particular contrast is shared with another lexical item.

²² Although this type of contrast is not lexicalized in Hebrew, it obviously does not mean that the contrast does not exist.

2.1.5. Parallelism and categorization

It is obvious that semantic parallelisms provide important insights concerning the categorization of lexical items in at least three respects: (1) parallelisms may provide synonyms, showing which lexical items have shared semantic features; (2) the occurrence of antonyms may be another indication of shared semantic features between particular lexical items; and (3) parallelisms may provide antonyms, showing which lexical items do not belong to the same domain.

As far as synonyms are concerned, a few comments need to be made. Louw & Nida (1988:xv) rightly note “that there are ‘no synonyms,’ in the sense that no two lexical items ever have completely the same meanings in all of the contexts in which they might occur.” This does not diminish the value of analyzing synonymous relationship between lexical items as they occur in parallelism. I would prefer to define synonymy along the lines of Cruse (2000:156) who describes synonyms as “words whose semantic similarities are more salient than their differences.” Taken from this perspective, synonyms may help to show from the viewpoint of the text itself, specifically a particular lexical context, where the areas of semantic overlap between the various lexical items occur.

In summary, it may be stated that parallelisms are crucial elements towards the definition of a particular semantic domain, while simultaneously they should provide insight into the demarcation of a domain and into its relationship with other domains.

2.2. Semantic analysis of the lexical items in semantic parallelism

The following paragraphs will provide a semantic analysis of the lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour. The first part of this section will focus on the individual lexical items, providing the statistical data, the possible synonyms, and the possible antonyms. The second part will look closely at the aspect of preferred positioning of each lexical item in the cola of a particular parallel construction.

2.2.1. **חטא**

The most obvious starting point is the lexical item that is generally considered the most generic of all in the domain of negative moral behaviour, **חטא**. The lexicons assume that the meaning of this root is *to miss*. And in most cases the word *sin* is given as a gloss (Jenni & Westermann, 1997:406ff.; Koehler & Baumgartner 2001; Brown et al., 1951:306ff.). The concordance of Lisowsky follows exactly the same pattern (1981:476ff.). Koch (1980:309-311) has a different approach. He wonders whether **חטא** indeed has a concrete basic meaning “to miss” and suggests that the four occurrences in the Hebrew Bible more likely contain a “metaphorical” usage. The

relevance of this kind of discussion for semantic analysis is generally very limited. As Lübke says "it should be realized that diachronic information is of little importance in the semantic description that is useful to the translators" (1994:178). And not only to the translators, I would add. At this point I will not elaborate on the semantic implications of this claim. First I want to look at the statistics concerning the lexical item.

The total number of references of lexical items derived from the root **נָחַם** in the book of Isaiah is 26. The references are 1.4, 18, 28; 3.9; 5.18; 6.7; 13.9; 27.9; 29.21; 30.1, 1; 31.7; 33.14; 38.17; 40.2; 42.24; 43.24, 25, 27; 44.22; 53.12; 58.1; 59.2, 12; 64.4; and 65.20. It is interesting to note that the lexical item is fairly evenly distributed throughout the book.

Of these references 16 occur in a clearly synonymous parallel relationship with other lexical items. This is 61.5% of all occurrences. If it is assumed that lexical items with highly specific semantic contents have few synonyms, this percentage may be an indication of the generic nature of this lexical item.

The parallels are:

1. **נָחַם** in the following references. 1.4; 5.18; 6.7; 27.9; 40.2; 43.24; 59.2.
2. A derivation of the root **נָחַם** in the following references. 1.28; 43.25; 43.27; 44.22; 53.12; 58.1; 59.12.
3. A derivation of the root **נָחַם** in the following reference. 1.4.
4. A derivation of the root of **נָחַם** in the following reference. 30.1.
5. **נָחַם** in the following reference. 33.14.

These observations provide a good indication of the extent of the domain. On their own they do not offer clear suggestions about the exact structure of the domain in terms of typicality and fuzziness. But this point will be taken up later.

The number of contrastive pairings is low given the high frequency of **נָחַם** in Isaiah. The only clear case of a contrastive parallelism is the example mentioned above which occurs in 1.27-28.

The **נָחַם** in line 3 are contrasted with "those who repent." Another example occurs in 64.4, although it should be noted that this verse has some serious textual complications. What is clear, however, is that there is a contrast with **צָדִיק**.

2.2.2. עֶן

In total עֶן occurs 24 times in the book of Isaiah in the following references: 1.4; 5.18; 6.7; 13.11; 14.21; 22.14; 26.21; 27.9; 30.13; 33.24; 40.2; 43.24; 50.1; 53.5,6,11; 57.17; 59.2,3,12; 64.5,6,8; and 65.7. Here too it is noted that the lexical item is evenly distributed throughout the book.

Of the occurrences 7 are in a synonymous parallel relationship with אָמַן as was shown in 2.2.1.

In addition to this, there are also parallel occurrences with the following lexical items:

1. A derivation of the root רָעַע in the following references: 1.4; 13.11; 14.20-21.
2. A derivation of the root פָּשַׁע in the following references: 50.1; 53.5; 59.12.
3. דָּן in the following reference: 59.3.

The total number of synonymous parallel occurrences in Isaiah is 13, so about 54.2%. This figure is slightly lower than the figure for אָמַן. This may indicate a somewhat higher degree of specificity.

There are only two examples of contrastive parallelism: 53.11 and 64.5. In both cases the contrast is with צָדִיק.

2.2.3. פֶּשַׁע

There is a total of 20 references of פֶּשַׁע in Isaiah: 1.2,28; 24.20; 43.25,27; 44.22; 46.8; 48.8; 50.1; 53.5,8,12(2); 57.4; 58.1; 59.12(2),13,20; and 66.24. In 2.2.1. it was shown that there are seven co-occurrences with אָמַן and in 2.2.2. three co-occurrences with עֶן were recorded. Other synonymous parallel lexical items are:

1. A derivation of the root בָּגַד in the following reference: 48.8.
2. A derivation of the root שָׁקַר in the following reference: 57.4; 59.13.

These data imply that in total there are 14 instances of synonymous parallelism out of 20 references. This is 70%, a figure that points at a high generic level of this lexical item, particularly given the fact that many of these co-occur with אָמַן. There are no clearly contrastive occurrences.

2.2.4. אֶן

There are 12 occurrences of אֶן in Isaiah: 1.13; 10.1; 29.20; 31.2; 32.6; 41.29; 55.7; 58.9; 59.4,6,7; and 66.3. The parallel occurrences are with the following lexical items:

1. עָקַל in the following references: 10.1; 59.4.
2. A derivation of the root רָעַע in the following reference: 31.2.

3. נְבִלָה in the following reference: 32.6.
4. A derivation of the root רָשַׁע in the following reference: 55.7.
5. חָמָס in the following reference: 59.6. There is a more distant connection with a derivation of רָעַע and דָּם in 59.7.
6. The occurrence in 59.7 connects with רָעַע and דָּם in the same verse, but the direct synonymous relationship is with שָׂד and שָׂבָר.
7. The case of 66.3 also indicates a synonymous parallel relationship, but here it parallels a number of specific evil deeds.

It appears that out of a total of 12 references at least 8 occur in a structure with parallel lexical items, which is 66.7 %. This seems rather high, but it should be noted that the parallels are widely distributed over a number of lexical items and that the degree of specificity of these synonymous lexical items is also rather high. It therefore seems that this lexical item tends to refer to a more specific type of negative moral behaviour and has a lower generic value. The fact that it does not occur in combination with חָטָא reinforces this observation. It should also be noted that the total number of occurrences is too low to draw firm conclusion.

Contrastive lexical items occur in 59.7-8 with שָׁלוֹם and מִשְׁפָּט. Another contrast is with צָדִיק in 33.15 and 59.4.

2.2.5. רָעַע

רָעַע or a derivation of the root רָעַע occurs 31 times in the book of Isaiah: 1.4,16,16; 3.9,11; 5.20; 7.5,15,16; 8.9; 9.16; 11.9; 13.11; 14.20-21; 24.19; 31.2,2; 32.7; 33.15; 41.23; 45.7; 47.10,11; 56.2; 57.1; 59.7,15,15; 65.12,25; and 66.4.

Thus far it was noted that רָעַע occurs 6 times in synonymous parallel relationship with the above lexical items: once with חָטָא; three times with עָוֹן; and twice with אָנָּה.

There are other parallel occurrences with the following lexical items:

1. In 3.11 there is a good possibility to interpret it as a parallel to אָי (Watts, 1985:39; Delitzsch, 1976:137).
2. חָנָף in the following reference: 9.16.
3. A derivation of the root שָׁחַת in the following references 1.4; 11.9; 65.25.
4. Derivations of פָּרַר and מוֹט in 24.19. In 8.9-10 a more distant connection with פָּרַר can be observed.
5. זָמָה in the following reference: 32.7.

6. דָּם in the following reference: 33.15.
7. חֹשֶׁן in the following reference: 45.7.
8. הִנֵּה in the following reference: 47.11.

In total there are 14 references to synonymous parallel lexical items, about 45.2% of all occurrences. There is also a wide distribution of synonymous parallels. All of the synonyms have a more or less high degree of specificity. This may suggest that רָעַע covers a wide range of related meanings but it does not operate at a very generic level. It is noteworthy in this respect to observe that there are hardly synonymous occurrences with חָטָא, which confirms the low generic level of this lexical item. The only co-occurrence with חָטָא that is mentioned is 1.4 and even there the connection is indirect. It occurs in a sequence of lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour. It does not immediately follow חָטָא, but it follows עָוֹן and it is followed by שָׁחַת (see point 3). The semantic implications of this will have to be analyzed further.

In addition to the synonymous relations there is also a wide range of contrasts that should be noted:

1. Between 1.16 and 1.17 there is a clear contrast between רָעַע and יָטַב. The exact meaning of יָטַב is further explicated in 1.17, thereby further defining the opposite of רָעַע. Other cases of contrast between רָעַע and יָטַב occur in 3.9-10; 5.20; 7.15, 16; 41.23.
2. In 1.16 the contrast is with זָכָה.
3. In addition to a synonymous parallel in 45.7, there is also a contrast with שָׁלוֹם. Other examples of this contrast: 57.1-2 and 59.7-8.
4. In 59.15 the contrast is with אָחֳרָה and מִשְׁפָּחָה. A contrast with the latter lexical items also appears in 59.7-8.

2.2.6. רָשַׁע

The book of Isaiah contains 16 occurrences of רָשַׁע in 3.11; 5.23; 9.17; 11.4; 13.11; 14.5; 26.10; 48.22; 50.9; 53.9; 54.17; 55.7; 57.20,21; and 58.4,6. One of these is a parallel of אָוֵן (see 2.2.4.).

Other semantic parallels do occur:

1. Although the parallel relationship is not direct, there is a clear connection with רָעַע and עָוֹן in 13.11. The immediate connection is with תִּבְלָה which in turn is closely linked with רָעַע. The text suggests that תִּבְלָה is full of רָעַע.
2. Two parallel lexical items can be detected in 53.8-9. The direct parallel item is עָשִׂיר, but there is another related word in the immediate context: פֶּשַׁע.

3. With מוֹטָה in 58.6 and indirectly with רָצִיץ.

The contrastive lexical items are as follows:

1. With a form of צָדֵק in 3.10-11; 5.23; 11.4; 26.10, 50.8-9 and 54.17.

2. With שָׁלוֹם in 48.22; 57.20,21.

The total number of parallels in the area of synonymy is only 4 out of 16: 25%. This would point to a low level of generic meaning. In addition to that there are no direct parallels with the other most frequently occurring generic lexical items, חַטָּא, עוֹן, and פֶּשַׁע. However, it is important to note that רָשָׁע has a number of contrastive lexical items in common with the generic lexical items mentioned above. This is an indication that it belongs to the same semantic domain.

2.2.7. Other generic lexical items

There are a number of other possibly generic lexical items which occur less frequently in the book of Isaiah. Because of the low frequency it is difficult to weigh them properly in terms of significance for the domain and no reliable conclusion can be drawn with respect to their exact positioning within the domain of negative moral behaviour. Nevertheless, some of these terms should be mentioned here in order to show that there are possible links of the domain pointing in these directions as well.

2.2.7.1. חָנַף

A form of the root חָנַף occurs 5 times in Isaiah: Isa 9.16; 10.6; 24.5; 32.6; and 33.14. Three of these occur in a parallel semantic relationship with lexical items discussed above: רָעַע, אָנָן and חַטָּא. This points to the presence of generic semantic features. The two occurrences without a clear semantic parallel confirm the observation that this root may have generic semantic features inherent to the domain of negative moral behaviour. In 10.6 it refers to a nation (Judah) that has abandoned the LORD. The other reference, 24.5, is to 'the earth' that has not observed 'the laws, the statutes and the covenant.' In both instances no reference to specific negative behaviour is made.

2.2.7.2. עָמַל

The word עָמַל occurs only three times in Isaiah: Isa 10.1; 53.11; and 59.4. In two cases it is a semantic parallel to אָנָן. It was already noted in 2.2.5. that אָנָן has a somewhat high degree of specificity. The occurrence in 53.11 has no immediate parallel. The context suggests a meaning that is not closely related to the domain of negative moral behaviour (see also Beuken, 1983:230).

2.2.7.3. סרר

There are also only three references of סרר in Isaiah: 1.23; 30.1; and 65.2. In 30.1 a semantic parallel with חטא can be detected. The other references also suggest inclusion in the domain of negative moral behaviour. In 1.23 סרר is linked with the lexical item נָנַב which refers to an explicit form of negative behaviour, while in 65.2 the context clearly shows behaviour that goes against the will of the LORD.

2.2.7.4. פָּרַר

There are 6 references of פָּרַר in Isaiah: 8.10; 14.27; 24.5,19; 33.8; and 44.25. Of these references the one in 24.19 “should be regarded as an independent root, meaning *to waver back and forth*” (Jenni & Westermann, 1997:1031).

Two co-occurrences with רָעַע were noted in 2.2.5. All other occurrences do have a semantic feature that closely relates them to the domain of negative moral behaviour. The main reason for this is the fact that all other references suggest a breach of a rule or a commitment that one has made, either to another person or to the LORD. In 14.27 the context suggests possible attempts to go against what the LORD has planned. In 24.5 and 33.8 the word denotes a breach of בְּרִית. As such פָּרַר does not necessarily denote negative moral behaviour, but it frequently occurs in combinations of words that would hint at a close link with that domain.

2.3. A definition of the domain: Some conclusions

The information of 2.2.1. – 2.2.6. concerning the presumably more generic and most frequently occurring lexical items is summarized in Figure 13. This summary gives a clear picture of the lexical items that were discussed and particularly about the way they relate to each other also in terms of order of occurrence in the parallel cola. In the first place this leads to a number of conclusions with regard to identifying the lexical items belonging to the domain of negative moral behaviour. And secondly, it also provides grounds for conclusions with regard to typicality and fuzziness of the domain. Figure 14 complements these observations. Taken together these data provide a good basis for drawing the borders of the domain, they provide insight into the internal relationships within the domain, while they also give some indications about the nature of the domain of positive moral behaviour.

Reference	חטא	עון	פשע	און	רעע	רשע
1.4	x ¹	x ²			x ³	
1.28	x ²		x ¹			
5.18	x ²	x ¹				
6.7	x ²	x ¹				
13.11		x ²			x ¹	
14.20-21		x ²			x ¹	
27.9	x ²	x ¹				
31.2				x ²	x ¹	
40.2	x ²	x ¹				
43.24	x ¹	x ²				
43.25	x ²		x ¹			
43.27	x ¹		x ²			
44.22	x ²		x ¹			
50.1		x ¹	x ²			
53.5		x ²	x ¹			
53.12	x ²		x ¹⁻³			
55.7				x ²		x ¹
58.1	x ²		x ¹			
59.2	x ²	x ¹				
59.7				x ²	x ¹	
59.12 ^a	x ²		x ¹			
59.12 ^b		x ²	x ¹			
Other combinations	2	1	3	5	9	3
Total in synonymous parallelism	16	13	14	8	14	4
Total in Isaiah	26	24	20	12	31	16
% in parallelism	61.5	54.2	70	66.7	45.2	25

Figure 13: Combinations of lexical items in synonymous parallelism
(The superscript numbers refer to the colon in which the lexical item occurs in a particular parallelism)

2.3.1. The domain of negative moral behaviour

It is clear that the conclusion is justified that the lexical items that have been discussed in 2.2.1. – 2.2.6 belong to one domain, the domain of negative moral behaviour. Figure 13 visualizes this point. The following points support this conclusion:

1. Based on the assumption that חטא is indeed the most generic lexical item (see 2.2.1.), the cross-links in terms of synonymous lexical items confirm the relationship between them and confirm the mutual membership in one semantic domain. This mutual relationship is particularly clear between חטא, עון and פשע. These three lexical items therefore probably represent a high degree of typicality within the domain.

2. There are also clear links between רעע and עון, which leads to the conclusion that רעע belongs to the same semantic domain, but the distance from the most generic lexical item seems to be bigger, since there is only one rather debatable co-occurrence with חטא (see 2.4.1.) in synonymous parallelisms. It should be noted that there is one shared contrastive lexical item with חטא (see Figure 14). This reinforces the conclusion that רעע indeed belongs to the same domain, but it probably cannot be included among the most typical members of the domain, unless it can be demonstrated that other factors play a role in defining the semantic relationships between the lexical items—such as manifesting a broad collocational range with various antonyms.
3. In turn, און seems even further removed from חטא. It has synonymous links only with רעע and no explicit relationship with the three most frequently co-occurring lexical items exists. However, to strengthen the argument in support of inclusion in the domain of negative moral behaviour, we note that it has חנף as a synonymous lexical item in common with חטא and רעע (2.2.7.1.). Moreover, און shares משפט with חטא as contrastive lexical item, while it shares שלום as a contrastive lexical item with רעע. Some of these observations also strengthen the inclusion of רעע within this domain.
4. At an even greater distance from the three typical lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour is רשע. In fact, the data to justify inclusion within this domain seem insufficient. Only one co-occurrence with און (which is already far removed from the typical members of the domain) cannot serve as a basis for any reliable conclusions about its position in the domain. On the other hand, it should be noted that in the area of contrastive lexical items there are strong indications that it belongs to this negative domain (see Figure 14). There are shared contrasts with חטא, עון, and רעע. This certainly shifts the balance in favour of inclusion in the domain. A number of distant synonymous parallel occurrences with עון, פשע, and רעע confirm this tendency.

Contrasts	חטא	עון	פשע	און	רעע	רשע
משפט	1.27-28			59.7-8	32.7 59.7-8 59.15	
צדק	1.27-28 64.4	53.11 64.5		33.15 59.4		3.10-11 5.23 11.4 26.10 50.8-9 54.17
יטב					1.16-17 3.9-10 5.20 7.15,16 41.23	
זכה					1.16	
שלום				59.7-8	45.7 57.1-2 59.7-8	48.22 57.20,21
אמת					59.15	

Figure 14: Occurrences of contrastive lexical items in parallelism

2.3.2. The lexical items and their semantic connections

Figures 13 and 14 each are a reflection of one specific kind of relationship between the various lexical items, but both figures do not provide an overall picture that shows the widespread and rather complicated network of relationships that exists in the use of lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah. In Chapter 2, Section 3.2.1. it was already noted that human experience is not always organized in a neat and clear way. At the same time it was observed that the human cognitive system is a structure-seeking device. This last statement contains one of the tenets on which cognitive linguistics is built. Figure 15 tries to show from a cognitive perspective the two seemingly contradictory aspects of semantic analysis, namely the lack of neat and clear organization in reality and the tendency of human cognition to provide structure. Figure 15 also includes the less frequently occurring lexical items. It tries to give a more comprehensive picture in which synonymy and antonymy are both visualized and interrelated, thus demonstrating how the connections between the various lexical items function in the book of Isaiah. Another important aspect of figure 15 is the fact that it also shows the indirect semantic relationships between the various lexical items.

than the other lexical items. It should also be noted that חטא is particularly rich in terms of synonymous relationships, while רעע is richer in terms of antonyms. Further semantic analysis, showing the contributions of each of the lexical items in their specific contexts should explicate the differences and similarities.

2. There is only one direct line between the two central lexical items. This line refers to the co-occurrence in 1.4. In Section 2.4.1. it will be demonstrated that even this single connection is of a dubious nature.
3. In spite of the seemingly remote connections between חטא and רעע, Figure 15 clearly demonstrates that these two lexical items have so many indirect connections that they belong to one semantic domain. They share two synonyms (עון and חנף) and one antonym (משפט). In addition to that there are a number of other more indirect links through lexical items directly related to חטא and רעע that show the coherence of the entire semantic domain of negative moral behaviour.
4. For the time being it should also be concluded that within the one domain of negative moral behaviour two sub-domains exist, one in which חטא seems the most typical example and a second one in which רעע seems the most typical example. Each of these two lexical items in turn is closely related to a number of others, both as synonyms and antonyms.
5. The strongest coherence within the entire domain exists between חטא, עון and פשע. This then seems to be the core of the domain. It is noted that the latter, פשע lacks any links with other lexical items in the domain. Further semantic analysis will have to demonstrate why this is the case.
6. Another notable feature is the fact that רשע is strongly represented in the field of antonyms, linking it with both sub-domains. It has a synonymous link with only one lexical item, און and no connection with any of the lexical items in the core of the domain. Here too, further semantic analysis will have to identify the implications of this observation.
7. At this point (although slightly outside the scope of the present study) the question needs to be raised whether the qualifier *negative* in the label for *negative moral behaviour* should be maintained. The latter could be a sub-domain of the semantic domain *moral behaviour*.

This section and the previous ones have raised a number of issues that need to be described in more detail. In particular, questions related to categorization and typicality from the perspective of cognitive linguistics require a more detailed analysis. This is the area to which I now turn in the following paragraphs.

2.4. Parallelism and typicality

In 2.1. it was noted that most scholars assume that the more general lexical item occurs in the first colon of a parallelism and that the more specific instance occurs in the second. This section will consider this assumption critically, by analyzing each of the lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour in terms of order of occurrence as summarized in Figure 13. In connection with this, the following paragraphs will also give some grounds for conclusions with regard to the issue of typicality.

2.4.1. The position of מַטָּה in parallelism

Figure 13 clearly shows that מַטָּה occurs more often than not in parallelism in the book of Isaiah: 61.5%. Out of 16 occurrences in parallelism it occurs only three times in the first line of the parallelism (in 1.4, 43.24 and 43.27). Based on 'the rule of thumb' of Alter (1985:19; see 2.1.3.), מַטָּה should be viewed as 'a more specific instance of the general category', because it usually appears in the second line, while the stage was presumably set by a more general term in the first. In view of the semantic description in 2.2.1. it is clear that this statement is very doubtful. The apparent contradiction with the observation in 2.1.3. needs to be resolved. Further analysis of the domain will confirm that there is a contradiction between 'the rule of thumb' of Alter and the meaning of this particular lexical item.

Before considering this in more detail, I first want to look at the pattern of occurrence of מַטָּה. Can the deviations from the 'normal' pattern (i.e. מַטָּה occurs in the second colon) be explained? Let us consider each case.

אֲךָ הָעֲבֹדָתִי בְּחַטָּאוֹתֶיךָ הוֹנֵעַתִּי בְּעֲוֹנוֹתֶיךָ:	But you have burdened me with your sins; you have wearied me with your iniquities (43.24b).
---	--

These lines exactly repeat the order of 43.23b:

לֹא הָעֲבֹדָתִי בְּמִנְחָה וְלֹא הוֹנֵעַתִּיךָ בְּלִבְנוֹנָה:	I have not burdened you with offerings, or wearied you with frankincense.
--	--

In fact, what we have here is a regular pattern that begins in 43.22 and continues up to the end of 43.24. First two pairs of lines in which *you* is the subject, then one pair of lines in which *I* (the LORD) is the subject, again followed by two pairs of lines in which *you* is the subject. So there is a fairly strict pattern in this poem, that requires rigid ordering of the elements in the sentence. Verse 24b contains an obvious limitation, introduced by the quantifier אֲךָ, to what the LORD did in 43.23b. מַטָּה is linked with the *offerings* in 23b colon 1, and עֹן is connected to the *frankincense* in 23b colon 2. In

other words, the specific structure of these verses require that on one side the lexical items with a wider semantic range, חטא and *offerings* match, and that on the other hand the more specific lexical items עון and *frankincense* complement each other.

Another, probably less convincing way to explain the deviating order in 23b is to link the parallelism with 25 and in so doing create a chiasitic structure.

אך העבדתני בחטאותיך	But you have burdened me with your sins;
הוגעתני בעונותיך:	you have wearied me with your iniquities.
אנכי אנכי הוא מחה פשעיך למעני	I, I am He who blots out your transgressions for my
וחטאתיך לא אזכר:	own sake,
	and I will not remember your sins.

The irregularity in the terminology חטא > עון > פשע > חטא, compared with the rigid regularity of the first explanation makes this option less likely. But either way goes to explain the deviation from the normal pattern, which prefers חטא in second position in a parallelism.

In the same context (43.27) another case of חטא in first position is found:

אביך הראשון חטא	our first ancestor sinned,
ומליציך פשעו בי:	and your interpreters transgressed against me.

Together with 43.25-26 this passage forms a complete chiasitic structure:

25	1 I blot out your פשע
	2 I will not remember your חטא
26	3 Accuse me, let us go to trial;
	3' set forth your case, so that you may be proved right.
27	2' Your first ancestor חטא
	1' your interpreters פשע against me.

This analysis shows that the normal order, a second position of חטא in parallelism, is emphasized.

The case of 1.4 is more complicated:

הוי גוי חטא	Ah, sinful nation,
עם כבד עון	people laden with iniquity,
זרע מרעים	offspring who do evil,
בנים משחיתים	children who deal corruptly,
עזבו את־יהוה	who have forsaken the LORD,
נאצו את־קדוש ישראל	who have despised the Holy One of Israel,
נזרו אחר:	who are utterly estranged!

This is a parallel structure with a climax: *nation* > *people* > *offspring* > *sons*. There is a clear increase in intimacy. There is also an increase in intensity in the sense of the degree of seriousness of negative

moral behaviour that is practiced by the people: אָטאָ > *laden with* עֵרֶן > *offspring of* רָעָע > *sons who deal corruptly*.

However, it should be noted that the intensification is not caused by the use of the specific terms אָטאָ, עֵרֶן and רָעָע, but rather by the way the terms are employed. The derivation of אָטאָ is a *qal* participle that qualifies the nation. עֵרֶן is a noun of which the degree of seriousness is underlined by the adjective *laden*. In other words, syntactically אָטאָ and עֵרֶן function at different levels. Hence, the parallelism cannot be compared to the ones discussed above and as such it does not show a deviation from the regular pattern, as far as אָטאָ is concerned.

It can thus be concluded that the most generic lexical item in the domain, אָטאָ consistently occurs in the second colon of a parallelism when it is used as a synonym of any of the other lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour.

2.4.2. The position of עֵרֶן in parallelism

The statistical data for עֵרֶן in parallelism do not show a similar rigidly regular pattern as is the case with אָטאָ. Of all occurrences of עֵרֶן 54.2% is in parallelism, 13 cases. Out of these 13 cases six occur in second position. Alter's 'rule of thumb' does not look helpful here at first sight.

A more careful analysis of the data shows that there is a clear pattern. If עֵרֶן is combined with אָטאָ in parallelism, it mostly occurs in first position. This conclusion can also be drawn from the previous paragraph, where the opposite is demonstrated. The exceptions, 1.4 and 43.24 have been explained in detail, so these are not deviation, but rather confirmations of this rule. This will be helpful in defining the semantic boundaries between אָטאָ and עֵרֶן.

With respect to other combinations in parallelism it is somewhat more difficult to draw firm conclusions, since the amount of data is a bit limited. It does not seem to provide a solid basis on which judgement can be made with regards to the mutual semantic relationship of the lexical items involved. There are three cases of a combination with פֶּשַׁע. In one case עֵרֶן occurs in the first colon (50.1), in the other two cases in the second colon (53.5 and 59.12-13).

If the second position is assumed to be the normal pattern, it is possible to explain the deviation in 50.1:

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה	Thus says the LORD:
אֵי זֶה סֵפֶר כְּרִיתוֹת אִמְכֶם	Where is your mother's bill of divorce
אֲשֶׁר שְׁלַחְתִּיהָ	with which I put her away?
אוֹ מִי מְנוּשִׁי	Or which of my creditors is it
אֲשֶׁר־מָכַרְתִּי אֶתְכֶם לּוֹ	to whom I have sold you?
הֵן בְּעֹונֹתֵיכֶם נִמְכַּרְתֶּם	No, because of your sins you were sold,
וּבִפְשַׁעֵיכֶם שְׁלַחָה אִמְכֶם:	and for your transgressions your mother was put away.

It is not hard to recognize the chiastic structure in this verse:

1	I put her away with a bill of divorce
2	I have sold you to my creditors
2'	you were sold for your עֲוֹן
1'	your mother was put away for her פֶּשַׁע

Certain semantic and/or literary constraints from lexical items occurring in cola 1 and 2 determine the need to reverse the usual order of the parallel lexical items in colon 1' and 2'. The analysis of the individual items will add more credibility to this analysis.

Furthermore it should be noted that in other poetic corpora there is also a tendency that confirms the proposed order of lexical items. In six occurrences (Job 14.17; 31.33; 33.9; Psa 32.5; 89.33; 107.17) the order is: פֶּשַׁע followed by עֲוֹן. The order is reversed in only 3 instances (Job 7.21; 13.23; Psa 65.4).

This adds support to the assumption that עֲוֹן tends to be in second position when it occurs in combination with פֶּשַׁע. This could then lead to the probability that עֲוֹן is a more specific instance of the general category in comparison with פֶּשַׁע, if the analysis would be based on Alter's assumption. However, if we combine this information with the conclusions of 2.3.1. the opposite is true. Then it seems likely that עֲוֹן is the more generic lexical item.

2.4.3. The position of פֶּשַׁע in parallelism

The third lexical item in the domain with a high degree of occurrence in parallelism is פֶּשַׁע: 70% of its total occurrences in the book of Isaiah, the highest percentage of all.

There appears to be a general pattern. With the exception of only two cases, 43.27 and 50.1, it always appears in the first colon of a parallelism. The occurrence in 43.27 was discussed under 2.4.1. From that discussion it is clear that the particular example also confirms the rule: because of the chiastic structure, the normal order is reversed. The case of 50.1 was explained in 2.4.2. and similarly confirms the pattern that has been noted thus far.

Another case to be discussed is 53.12. There פשע occurs in the first and third colon of the parallelism, while חטא appears in the second colon.

<p>לְכֵן אֶחֱלֶק־לּוֹ בְּרָבִים וְאֶת־עֲצוּמִים יַחֲלֶק שְׁלָל תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר הִעֲרָה לְמוֹת נָפְשׁוֹ וְאֶת־פְּשָׁעִים נִמְנָה וְהוּא חֲטָא־רָבִים נָשָׂא וְלִפְשָׁעִים יִפְגִּיעַ:</p>	<p>1 Therefore I will allot him a portion with the great, 2 and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; 3 because he poured out himself to death, 4 and was numbered with the transgressors; 5 yet he bore the sin of many, 6 and made intercession for the transgressors.</p>
---	--

Bearing the חטא in colon 5 is the semantic parallelism of *making intercession* in line 6, and in terms of parallel structures colon 5 is not related to colon 4. *Many* in colon 5 is parallel to פשע in colon 6 (Watts, 1985:225-226; McKenzie, 1968:131-132). This renders the parallelism irrelevant for analysis of the semantic relationships between פשע and חטא in this particular instance.

It is clear that as a general rule פשע occurs in the first colon whenever it is combined with חטא or עון. Based on “the rule of thumb” of Alter that the general term occurs in the first colon and a more specific instance of the general category in the second would then lead to the conclusion that פשע is a general term. However, it was already clear from the analysis in 2.3.1. and 2.3.2. that this hypothesis needs to be reconsidered.

2.4.4. The position of אָן in parallelism

The number of occurrences in the book of Isaiah of אָן, רעע and רשע is too small to draw firm conclusions with regard to their specific semantic relationship to the other lexical items.

Nevertheless, some general remarks with respect to the domain to which they belong can be made, which together with the findings in 2.2.4. may lead to some important observations about their position in the domain of negative moral behaviour.

The percentage of occurrence in parallelism of אָן is high: 66.7. However, the total number of occurrences of this lexical item in the book of Isaiah is rather low, only 12, so this is too narrow a basis for a conclusive analysis. There are only three co-occurrences with the five other lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour that we defined in 2.2.1. – 2.2.6. It occurs 3 times in second position. It is remarkable that it does not at all occur in combination with any of the three most frequently appearing lexical items, חטא, עון, פשע. In 2.2.4. it was already noted that the lexical item אָן tends to refer to a more specific type of negative moral behaviour. The lack of examples of synonymous relationships with the three most generic lexical items confirms this observation. As was also demonstrated in 2.2.4. the connection with the three most generic lexical items is only indirect, it is linked to the other lexical items in the domain through synonymous

occurrences with רעע and רשע. This leads to the conclusion that אָן scores relatively low in terms of typical membership of the domain.

2.4.5. The position of רעע in parallelism

Of רעע there are 14 instances occurring in parallelism, 45.2% of its total number of occurrences. Nine of these occur in connection with lexical items that cannot be considered to belong to the most generic instances of negative moral behaviour. In four of the examples of synonymy within the domain of negative moral behaviour רעע occurs in the first colon. The fifth case, in 1.4 has been discussed under 2.3.1. and confirms the tendency of רעע to appear in first position. Following Alter's rule, the conclusion would then be that רעע is a more general term. Whether this conclusion is correct remains to be seen. Another important observation is the fact that רעע forms the bridge between אָן and רשע on one side and עוֹן, חטא and פשע on the other.

2.4.6. The position of רשע in parallelism

There are 16 occurrences of רשע in the book of Isaiah. Only four of them occur in a parallel structure. Out of these four there is just one example of synonymy with any of the other five lexical items in the domain. This may support the assumption that this word has a low level of semantic overlap with any of the other words.

The less attached position of רשע within the domain is confirmed by the fact that the parallel occurrence with אָן in Isa 55.7 is one of the few examples of this kind in the Hebrew Bible. Co-occurrences of רעע and רשע are less infrequent in the rest of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. in Psa 5.5 and 10.15), but the book of Isaiah lacks any such example. It is remarkable that also in other poetic books of the Hebrew Bible such as Job and Proverbs רשע rarely parallels any of the other lexical items in the domain. The frequent contrasts with צדק are also a notable feature. In the book of Isaiah 6 examples were recorded (see Figure 14). Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible the string רשע – צדק is also frequently presented as a natural contrast (e.g. Habakkuk 1.4 and 13; Psalm 37.12; Proverbs 3.33 and 10.25; Ecclesiastes 7.15). These observations therefore confirm the findings in the book of Isaiah.

As was indicated in Figure 14, the most visible connection with the rest of the domain is through shared contrastive lexical items with עוֹן and חטא. With regard to the use of רשע in parallelism, it is safe to conclude that this lexical item tends to avoid being used in parallelism as a synonym for any of the other lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour. The analysis of the semantic

components of the individual occurrences of this word (in Section 3.6) should provide more justification for its inclusion in the domain as well as clarifying the exact nature of its relationship with the other lexical items.

2.5. Some conclusions about parallelism and typicality

My conclusions at this point can only be preliminary, since some of the relevant issues in semantic analysis have not yet been considered, most notably the world view analysis.

Nevertheless some important points can be made here, particularly in connection with the theory that was developed in Chapter 2.

The discussion of Section 2.4. has once again demonstrated that Alter's rule of thumb is not helpful for semantic analysis. It contains a high degree of arbitrariness because the rule does not define what exactly is meant by terms such as *specific* and *general*, as we have noted already in 2.1.3. of this chapter. More seriously, however, is the fact that the application of the rule would lead to conclusions that are contrary to the way reality is perceived by the author. My analysis has shown that אָמַר is the most generic item in terms of reference to negative moral behaviour, and yet it consistently appears in second position in synonymous parallelism. Alter's rule would lead to the conclusion that אָמַר is the most specific lexical item in the domain of negative moral behaviour, while the opposite is true. אָמַר does not refer to a specific type of negative moral behaviour.

Therefore it is obvious that there are different issues at stake in parallelism than the issue of generic – specific as is suggested by Alter. The data lead to the conclusion that in the book of Isaiah synonymous parallelism in the domain of negative moral behaviour is employed to widen the scope of the semantic range of the lexical items involved. If there is an element of intensification, it appears that the intensification in this case consists of widening the semantic range involved in the employment of certain lexical items. In other words, the lexical item that refers to negative moral behaviour that occurs in the second colon of a synonymous parallelism is more inclusive in terms of the various kinds of behaviour that are included in its semantic range.

This means that אָמַר also represents the highest degree of typicality within the domain. The parallel structures indicate that all lexical items can be interpreted as 'kinds of אָמַר.'

This is particularly clear when אָמַר is considered in relationship with עָוֹן and פֶּשַׁע. There is a rigorous ordering of these lexical items throughout the book of Isaiah, whereby the order is strictly as shown in Figure 16.

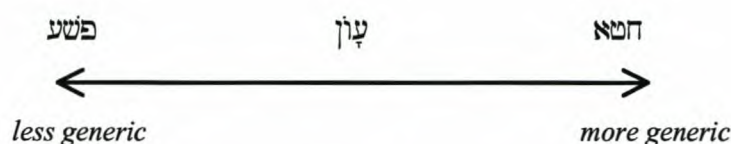


Figure 16: Continuum of the scale of generic semantic scope

It should be noted that Figure 16 only reflects the strict order in which the lexical items do occur in synonymous parallelism in the book of Isaiah. A large degree of predictability has now been established with regard to the ordering of those three lexical items. It is possible to predict the order of any two given lexical items in synonymous parallelism. However, it is not possible, on the basis of Figure 16, to identify the parameters that characterize the particular context that calls for the use of עון instead of פשע as the preferred synonymous lexical item in combination with חטא. Neither does the present analysis explain why חטא is not used at all in synonymous parallelisms such as 13.11; 14.20-21; and 59.12^b. This should be the subject of further semantic analysis in which each one of the lexical items is analyzed in its specific context and in connection with the prevailing world view system of the book of Isaiah.

One of the observations based on Figure 15 was that there appear to be two sub-domains within the domain of negative moral behaviour. This observation is confirmed by the preceding analysis. The ordering of the other lexical items, רעע, און, and רשע (sub-domain B) is less rigorous and the exact nature of the semantic relationship with the lexical items in Figure 16 (sub-domain A) is hard to establish on the basis of the present data. Indications are that all three represent a higher degree of specificity. One ground for such a conclusion is the fact that all of them are at some point synonymously parallel to explicit types of negative moral behaviour (see 2.2.4. – 2.2.6.). It should be noted, though, that other issues that have not yet been considered in the present semantic analysis may play a major role in the determination of the relationships between the sub-domains.

In terms of the intrinsic relationships among the three lexical items of sub-domain B the statistics of Figure 15 point to a first position of רעע, while in the only example we have of the combination רשע – און the latter occurs in second position. Assuming that the same mechanisms play a role in these synonymous parallelisms one could very tentatively draw the following figure:

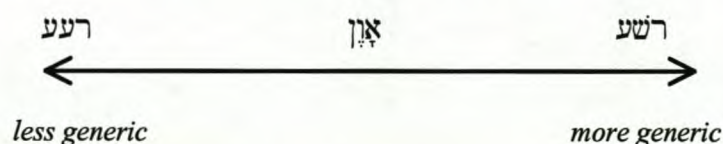


Figure 17: Tentative scale of generic semantic scope sub-domain B

A few additional comments with regard to Figure 17 that to some extent reinforce some of the findings of the above analysis are relevant at this point:

1. This analysis based on the book of Isaiah is confirmed by a number of data in the rest of the Hebrew Bible. Of all combinations in which אָנִי occurs synonymously parallel to רָשָׁע (6 in total) only one (Job 34.8) contradicts the findings in the book of Isaiah. All others (Psalms 28.3; 55.3; 92.8; 101.8; 141.4; Proverbs 11.7) confirm the proposed analysis by strictly following the order that occurred in Isa 55.7. It is beyond the scope of this study to explain the exception of Job 34.8.
2. An analysis of the co-occurrences of אָנִי and רָשָׁע in synonymous parallelism gives mixed results. In four instances אָנִי appears in the first colon (Job 4.8; Psalm 94.23; Proverbs 6.18; Micah 2.1). In two other examples it appears in second position (Psalms 64.2 and 94.16). Again, it would be beyond the scope of this study to further analyze and explain these differences. This obviously is not a confirmation of the analysis visualized in Figure 17, although it can also not be interpreted as a strong discrepancy.
3. It is interesting to consider Psalm 141.4. This text provides the perfect example to confirm the analysis of Figure 17. It follows the order of Isaiah exactly. The movement is as follows: רָשָׁע → אָנִי → אָנִי. It is the only example in the Hebrew Bible where the 3 lexical items occur together as synonymous parallels.
4. The division of two sub-domains of negative moral behaviour should not be taken as a very rigid one. The close links between the two were already explained in point 6 of the observations on Figure 15. A brief analysis of co-occurrences of the various lexical items outside the book of Isaiah confirms this point. In most of these cases חַטָּא precedes רָשָׁע (Psa 1.5; 104.35; 106.6; 109.7; Dan 9.5, 15), thus confirming the order that occurs in Isaiah, but there are exceptions (Psa 1.1; Pro 5.22; Jer 14.20). Similarly there are examples of co-occurrence of רָשָׁע and פָּשָׁע (Psa 36.2; 37.38; Pro 29.16; Ezk 33.12).

Figure 18 is a combination of Figures 16 and 17. The size of each circle roughly represents the degree of the semantic field covered by each of the lexical items, so the widest circles represents a higher generic degree of a lexical item relative to other lexical items in the domain. It is important to note that the border lines of the circles are dotted lines. This to suggest that there is an amount of fluidity and possible overlap between the semantic scope of the lexical items.

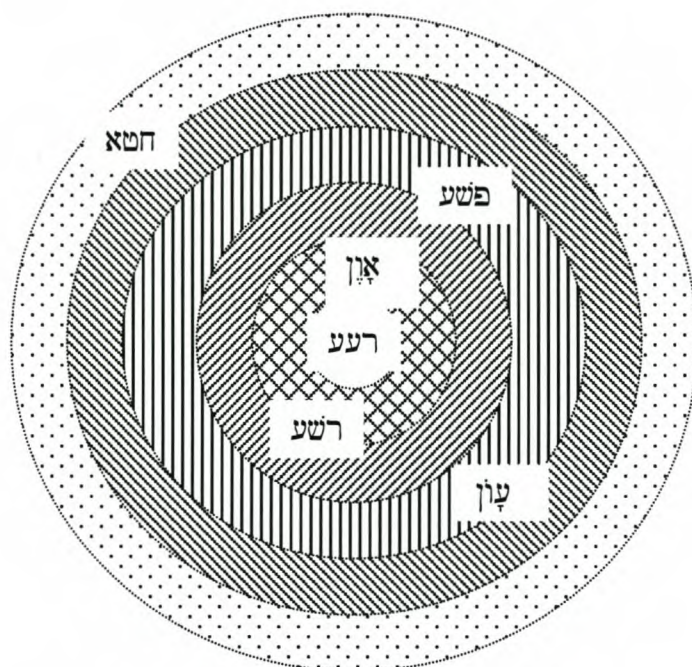


Figure 18: Circular schema of semantic scope

In view of the comments on the tentative nature of Figure 17 it is clear that the same restrictions apply to Figure 18. The position of חטא, עָן, and פֿשע (sub-domain A) is based on more solid grounds as was demonstrated in the analysis represented in Figure 16.

These observations are crucial when they are linked to the comments about *categorization* in Chapter 2, Section 3.2.2. One of the remarks was that, according to prototype theory, categories have a centre and a periphery and that not all members have the same status. A consequence of this tendency is that the boundaries in prototype theory are considered to be fuzzy and that categories consist of “near” and “far” examples that can be rated on a typicality scale. Based on the preceding analysis, this could be visualized in the same diagram with concentric circles as Figure 18, except the fact that the circle should then be turned ‘inside out’ so that חטא becomes the centre of the domain. An alternative way of expressing this is via a continuum on which all lexical items are marked, as in Figure 19.

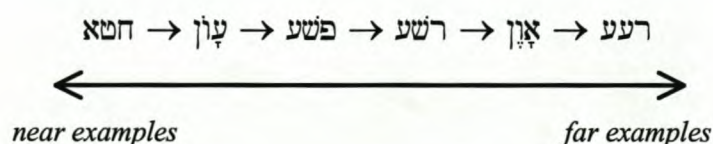


Figure 19: Typicality scale of the domain of negative moral behaviour

A number of observations should be made on the basis of Figure 19 and of the analytical process thus far:

1. It is important to note that Figure 19 only refers to the size of the semantic scope (i.e. the relative degree of inclusiveness) of the different lexical items. All other semantic aspects are not reflected. In terms of Geeraerts (1995:31) this figure is a relational representation. In his words, "it does not look inside the lexical items but presents them as entities without internal structure linked by external relations." Other types of representation will be necessary to complement the picture, as will be demonstrated in the course of this study.
2. Similarly, it is important to note that prototype theory is semantically restricted in its application. It focuses on one aspect of semantic analysis, albeit an important one, but it should be noted that other issues remain unresolved. This particularly applies to the semantic content of the lexical items, or, in terms of componential analysis of meaning, to the lack of insight into the area where certain components are shared, which are distinctive, which ones are prominent in a given context, and how do the lexical items relate to the cultural environment that they describe and of which they are a part?
3. It is evident that different kinds of semantic aspects play their respective roles simultaneously in the communication process. It appears that the different theories and approaches tend to highlight one particular aspect at the expense (or negligence) of the other. This observation is evidenced by a comparison of Figures 15 (especially point 4 of the observations in Section 2.3.2.) and 19. Based on Figure 15 one would be inclined to assume that *רעע* scores high on the typicality scale. Figure 19 demonstrates that the opposite is true. This difference is caused by the fact that in Figure 15 a different aspect of semantic analysis is in focus. In Figure 15 the focus is on the number of synonyms that co-occur in parallelism with the various lexical items. In order to avoid wrong conclusions, it is important to note that the number of synonyms is not necessarily directly proportionate to the degree of typicality of a lexical item within a certain category. It may well be true that the number of synonyms is an indication of broader specific applicability in a larger variety of contexts, such as is apparently the case with *רעע*.
4. At the same time the observations under point 3 make clear that the preceding analyses provide important insights, but they leave the tension that exists between *רעע* and *רעע* unresolved. Although both lexical items seem to play a central role in the domain under consideration (see Figure 15) it seems that the roles are substantially different. The exact nature of the different roles has not yet become clear.

5. The individual semantic contributions of each lexical item in a particular context have not been expressed in the preceding analysis.
6. A method needs to be developed in which cultural aspects, especially the relationship between semantic analysis and world view theory can be made explicit. This may offer a solution for the remaining obscurities in the present analysis.

It is to these issues that I now turn in the remaining paragraphs of this chapter.

3. Semantic analysis of the lexical items

After delineating the domain of negative moral behaviour and the analysis of issues related to prototype theory in connection with this domain it is clear that additional issues need to be considered for each of the lexical items in order to complement the semantic picture. This involves a careful analysis of the way each lexical item relates to the issues raised in the Chapter 3 on world view. In the following paragraphs each lexical item will be described from this perspective. In a concluding section the results of this analysis will be pulled together into a coherent whole.

3.1. חטא

Isa 1.4: חטא *Verb, qal participle, masculine singular*

<p>הוֹי גֵּי חַטָּא עִם כָּכֹד עֹן זָרַע מְרָעִים בְּנִים מְשַׁחֲתִים עֲזָבוּ אֶת־יְהוָה נֹאצִּי אֶת־קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל נִזְרוּ אַחֲזָר:</p>	<p>Ah, sinful nation, people laden with iniquity, offspring who do evil, children who deal corruptly, who have forsaken the LORD, who have despised the Holy One of Israel, who are utterly estranged!</p>
---	--

CONTEXT: In Section 2.4.1. the synonymous relationships of חטא with עֹן and רָע have been described in detail. Additional contextual information: If a chiasitic structure is assumed²³, the parallel colon suggests that the problem to which חטא refers resides in the fact that the people have despised the Holy One of Israel and are utterly estranged. The wider context describes some semantic notions related to the lexical item, especially 1.12ff.: Improper sacrificial practices, hands full of blood.

OTHER SOURCES: Childs (2001:18) – “The term *sin* is not a deviation from some ideal norm, or simply missing the mark as often suggested, but in the context is directly related to rebellion against God.” He clearly disagrees with Watts (1985:18) who states that “the

²³ The main motivation for assuming a chiasitic structure is the fact that colon c and d are clearly synonymous parallels, matching *offspring* and *children*. The ‘surrounding’ colons (b and d; a and e) can also be assumed to be parallels. The contents of these colons make such an analysis possible. These observations are implicitly confirmed by Blenkinsopp (2000:182-3).

basic idea of חטא is 'to go astray, miss the mark.' It means that one has missed the norm required by law, whether that be in society or in relation to God." This analysis will demonstrate that a generalizing statement with the notion of a presumed 'basic idea' is not relevant for semantic analysis. This may be interesting from an etymological point of view, but in a proper synchronic semantic analysis it bears no weight.

WVI: חטא affects the *Relationship* between *Causality* and humanity (especially *Self*, since God's people are apparently addressed). In the background (or the wider context) improper use of *Space* and *Time* play a role, but only to the extent that they negatively impact the *Relationship* with *Causality*.

1.18: חטאים Noun, masculine plural construct with second person masculine plural suffix.

לְכוּנָא וְנוֹכַחָהּ יֹאמַר יְהוָה
אִם־יִהְיוּ חַטָּאִיְכֶם כְּשָׁנִים כְּשֶׁלֶג יִלְבִּינוּ
אִם־יֵאָדִימוּ כְּתוֹלַע כְּצֶמֶר יִהְיוּ:

Come now, let us argue it out,
says the LORD:
though your sins are like scarlet,
they shall be like snow;
though they are red like crimson,
they shall become like wool.

CONTEXT: The LORD is the speaker and wants to sort out some of the outstanding issues with his people, after the preceding section (starting in 1.11) has spelled out what exactly was wrong with them. It is important to note that all issues that are mentioned are related to proper worship of the LORD, which also finds its expression (in 1.15 ff.) in inappropriate behaviour towards other people. It is clear that the LORD wants to repair the serious damage that the חטא of the people has caused.

WVI: The problem is incorrect observation of the rules set by *Causality*, initially focusing on true worship, followed by proper *Relationship* among and between *Self* and *Other*. It appears that the battle is to convince people to be included in *Self* by making the right decisions in the observation of one's *Relationship* with *Causality* (1.19). Restoration of the *Relationship* between *Causality* and *Self* is possible and necessary, if the people are to enjoy טוֹב הָאָרֶץ.

1.28: חטאים Adjective, masculine plural

וְשָׂבֵר פְּשָׁעִים וְחַטָּאִים יִחָדּוּ
וְעֹזְבֵי יְהוָה יִכָּלּוּ:

But rebels and sinners shall be destroyed together,
and those who forsake the LORD shall be consumed.

CONTEXT: There is a clear contrast with the people in the preceding verse who shall be redeemed by justice and righteousness, namely those who repent. A specific description of the חטאים can be found in colon b of 1.28: "Those who forsake the LORD." They are worthy of total destruction. What exactly constitutes this behaviour of *forsaking the LORD*

is made clear in the following verses, essentially it is the incorrect way of worshiping the LORD. The synonymous use of the lexical items in colon a has the normal function of widening the semantic scope in the second occurrence, חַטָּאִים.

WVI: The prevailing picture is reference to the breach of *Relationship* with *Causality*. The text also makes clear that redemption does not come from *Self*, but from characteristics associated with *Causality*. The other variable in play is the wrong use of *Space*. It is not used to maintain the *Relationship* with *Causality*, but it is employed to be placed in the category *Other* as far as *Causality* is concerned.

3.9: חַטָּאִים Noun, feminine singular construct with third person masculine plural suffix

הַכֶּרֶת פְּנֵיהֶם עֲנָתָה בָּם וְחַטָּאתָם כְּסֻדָּם	The look on their faces bears witness against them;
הִגִּידוּ לֹא כִחְדוּ אוֹי לְנַפְשָׁם	they proclaim their sin like Sodom,
כִּי־גָמְלוּ לָהֶם רָעָה:	they do not hide it.
	Woe to them!
	For they have brought evil on themselves.

CONTEXT: The context speaks of the fact that “their (the leaders’) deeds and their speech are against the LORD (3.8). That is identified as the cause of the fall of Judah and Jerusalem. In this case, God’s people portray their negative behaviour openly. The result of this behaviour is that they bring רָעָה (evil or disaster?) on themselves.

WVI: From the context it is again clear that the breach of *Relationship* with *Causality* by the people, or, in this case, rather the leaders, is the main world view issue motivating the choice for חַטָּא in this verse. It is interesting to note that there is a cause-effect relationship between חַטָּא and רָעָה in this case.

5.18: חַטָּאָה Noun, feminine singular

הוּא מִשְׁכִּי הָעוֹן בְּחִבְלֵי הַשָּׁוְא	Ah, you who drag iniquity along with cords of falsehood,
וְכַעְבוֹת הָעֲגָלָה חַטָּאָה:	who drag sin along as with cart ropes,

CONTEXT: The wider context suggests a reference to improper behaviour of the leaders, particularly in the area of property grabbing and corruption (5.8 and 23), excessive drinking (5.11-12 and 22). They oppose everything that the LORD regards positively (5.20). The synonymous parallel structure does not seem to make any semantic distinction between חַטָּא and עוֹן.

OTHER SOURCES: A comparison between translations shows the problematic nature of the text, especially because of the unusual use of figures. NIV reverses the order. *Sin* (the usual equivalent in the NIV for חַטָּא) precedes *wickedness*. The latter lexical item is also used by the NIV as an equivalent for רָעָה (47.10) and רָשָׁע (9.18) in the book of Isaiah.

Childs (2001:47) writes that “verses 18-19 attack those who are so heavy with sins that they drag their guilt and iniquity with ropes after them.” The LXX adds an article to *sin* in colon b to match the synonymous lexical item in colon a, which seems to suggest a reference to a specific sin. I note that the interpretation based on my analysis of word order in parallelism provides a satisfactory resolution. The scope of negative moral behaviour covered by *חטא* is wider than the one covered by *עון*.

WVI: No detailed comments in terms of world view variables can be made at this point, other than that the *Relationship* with *Causality* is negatively affected by not observing the rules set by *Causality*. It seems that there is a fairly general *woe*-statement without specific reference to one of the world view variables in this verse or in the wider context. Both lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour have their generic semantic contents with the usual reference to *Causality*.

6.7: *חטאתך* Noun, feminine singular construct with second person masculine singular suffix

וַיִּנֶּעַ עַל-פִּי וַיֹּאמֶר הָנָה נִנְעָה זֶה עַל-שִׁפְתֶּיךָ וְסָר
עֲוֹנְךָ וְחַטְאתְךָ תִּכָּפֵּר: The seraph touched my mouth with it and said: “Now that this has touched your lips, your guilt has departed and your sin is blotted out.”

CONTEXT: This verse occurs in the midst of a vision in which the prophet describes the holiness of the LORD in contrast with his own uncleanness. This uncleanness has to be removed. It should also be noted that he is unclean, because he belongs to an unclean people (6.5). Verse 7 itself contains a synonymous parallelism. It appears that the uncleanness is removed by fire. It was caused by *עון* and *חטא*. The usual widening of semantic scope takes place. After removal of the uncleanness the prophet can first speak to the LORD and then also on behalf of the LORD.

WVI: This passage makes clear that *חטא* has a devastating effect on the *Relationship* of humanity with *Causality*. It also makes clear that one individual human being belongs to the group and bears its *חטא*. The verse clearly portrays a struggle between *Causality* and *Self – Other*. The struggle on the side of *Self – Other* is not to slide off into the *Other* category and thereby destroying the *Relationship* with *Causality*. It appears that the categories are not clear-cut and firm. There is a question of responsibility and there is the possibility to modify the *Relationship* with *Causality*.

13.9: *חטאתיה* adjective, masculine plural construct with third person feminine singular suffix

הִנֵּה יוֹם־יְהוָה בָּא אֲכֹזֵרִי וְעִבְרָה וְחִרּוֹן אָף
לְשׁוֹם הָאָרֶץ לְשַׂמָּה וְחַטְאֵיהָ יִשְׁמִיד מִמֶּנָּה: See, the day of the LORD comes,
cruel, with wrath and fierce anger,
to make the earth a desolation,
and to destroy its sinners from it.

CONTEXT: This section draws a picture of total destruction and desolation of Babylon in which the LORD executes judgment. This is portrayed as a battle between the 'consecrated ones' and the others. It appears that the entire creation is affected by חטא and its results. In verse 11 ff. it seems that this is made more explicit. First some more generic lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour are used, after which it is made clear what this entails. Apparently Babylon is not punished for behaving wrongly towards Judah or Jerusalem, but it is their general misbehaviour which causes the LORD's wrath.

WVI: The jurisdiction of *Causality* goes beyond Israel and Judah. Breach in the *Relationship* with *Causality* is again in focus. It is not only *Relationship* with *Self* (the LORD's people) that is an important consideration. *Relationship* with *Other* also has to observe the rules of *Causality*.

27.9: חַטָּאתוֹ *Noun, feminine singular construct with third person masculine singular suffix*

<p>לְכֵן בְּזָאת יִכָּפֵר עוֹן־יַעֲקֹב וְזֶה כָּל־פְּרִי הַסֵּר חַטָּאתוֹ בְּשׁוּמוֹ כָּל־אַבְנֵי מִזְבֵּחַ כְּאַבְנֵי־גֶר מִנְפָצוֹת לֹא־יָקֻמוּ אֲשֶׁר־יָם וְחַמְצִים:</p>	<p>Therefore by this the guilt of Jacob will be expiated, and this will be the full fruit of the removal of his sin: when he makes all the stones of the altars like chalkstones crushed to pieces, no sacred poles or incense altars will remain standing.</p>
--	---

CONTEXT: In terms of semantic analysis only the preceding colon is of interest. This is a classic example of widening of semantic scope. There is an obvious connection between עֲוֹן and חַטָּא on one side and worship of other gods on the other. Expiation leads to destruction of altars and other expressions of worship of other gods.

WVI: The context makes clear that *Relationship* can not exist between *Causality* and alternative *Causality* factors at the same time. The orientation of the *Relationship* determines one's belonging to *Self* or *Other*.

29.21: מַחֲטִיאִי *Verb, hiphil participle, masculine plural construct*

<p>מַחֲטִיאִי אָדָם בְּדָבָר וְלִמּוֹכִיחַ בַּשַּׁעַר יִקְשׁוּן וַיִּטּוּ בַתְּהוֹ צְדִיק:</p>	<p>those who cause a person to lose a lawsuit, who set a trap for the arbiter in the gate, and without grounds deny justice to the one in the right.</p>
--	--

CONTEXT and OTHER SOURCES: The text suggests that those who deny justice to others shall be no more. The NRSV opts for a translation that makes it difficult to recognize the Hebrew lexical item, but one that in the given context brings out the meaning clearly. All translations, including the NRSV, suggest translating the *hiphil* as causative, in line with the general opinion of standard Hebrew grammars (e.g. Waltke & O'Connor, 1990: 433-436; Joüon & Muraoka, 1993:162-164). NRSV: *cause a person to lose a lawsuit*; RSV: *make a man out to be an offender*; REB: *those who impute sins to others*; NIV: *make a*

man out to be guilty; NBG51: *zij die een mens om een woord schuldig verklaren*. In other words, most translations translate the lexical item in such a way that it suits a judicial context. Given the synonymous parallelism in cola b and c of verse 21, this is acceptable. There is no explicit connection with the LORD in this context. The indirect link is clear in the contrast with verse 19. It is questionable that this occurrence is an example of negative moral behaviour.

WVI: Unlike in all previous references, there is no explicit reference to *Causality* here, but given the fact that its inclusion in the domain of negative moral behaviour is doubtful, the significance of this observation is limited. The connotations are of a more general nature where the root חטא is contrasted with justice. Apparently the term refers to a breach in *Relationship* between an individual and others as well as *Causality* in terms of not observing the standards.

30.1: חטאת על-חטאת *Noun, feminine singular*

<p>הוֹי בָּנִים סוֹרְרִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת עֶצָה וְלֹא מִנִּי וְלִנְסֹךְ מִסִּכָּה וְלֹא רוּחִי לְמַעַן סְפוֹת חַטָּאת עַל־חַטָּאת:</p>	<p>Oh, rebellious children, says the LORD, who carry out a plan, but not mine; who make an alliance, but against my will, adding sin to sin;</p>
---	--

CONTEXT: The fact that the people associate themselves with a people from outside, without consent from the LORD is clearly a case of חטא that the LORD does not tolerate. This is also linked to the fact that by doing so the people seek protection and refuge elsewhere.

WVI: In terms of world view the (con)text does not talk about a breach in *Relationship* between the people and *Causality*. What is problematic is that the allegiance of the people is not towards *Causality* but towards *Other*. The text does not explicitly talk about worshiping other deities, but it should be noted that the making of an agreement or alliance usually involved a religious ceremony.

31.7: חטא *Noun, masculine singular*

<p>כִּי בַיּוֹם הַהוּא יִמָּאֲסוּן אִישׁ אֱלִילִי כֶסֶף וְאֱלִילִי וְהָבֹו אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לָכֶם יְדֵיכֶם חַטָּא:</p>	<p>For on that day all of you shall throw away your idols of silver and idols of gold, which your hands have sinfully made for you.</p>
---	---

CONTEXT: The scope of reference of חטא is limited to the making of idols.

WVI: The world view connection is clear. חטא refers to loyalty to other sources of *Causality*.

33.14: חטאים *adjective, masculine plural*

<p>פָּחַדוּ בְּצִיּוֹן חַטָּאִים אֲחֻזָּה רַעְדָּה חֲנָפִים מִי יִגֹּר לָנוּ אֵשׁ אוֹכֵלָה מִי־יִגֹּר לָנוּ מוֹקְדֵי עוֹלָם:</p>	<p>The sinners in Zion are afraid; trembling has seized the godless: “Who among us can live with the devouring fire? Who among us can live with everlasting flames?”</p>
--	--

CONTEXT: In the synonymous parallel structure חטא is matched with *the godless*. In the wider context it appears that this is linked with being righteous.

WVI: As in 31.7 the question of loyalty towards *Causality* is in focus.

38.17: חטאֵי Noun, masculine plural construct with first person common singular suffix

הִנֵּה לְשָׁלוֹם מִרְלִי מָר	Surely it was for my welfare
וְאַתָּה חָשַׁקְתָּ נַפְשִׁי מִשְׁחַת בְּלִי	that I had great bitterness;
כִּי הִשְׁלַכְתָּ אַחֲרֵי גִידִי כָּל־חַטָּאֵי:	but you have held back my life
	from the pit of destruction,
	for you have cast all my sins
	behind your back.

CONTEXT: חטא is pictured as unspecified behaviour that deserves death and destruction in the eyes of the LORD, as the author of this Psalm confesses.

WVI: חטא causes death and destruction. *Causality* can decide to cast it away. Confession plays an important role. *Causality* is the source of life. חטא can destroy it.

40.2: חַטֹּאתֶיהָ Noun, feminine plural construct with third person feminine singular suffix

דַּבְּרוּ עַל־לֵב יְרוּשָׁלַם וְקִרְאוּ אֵלֶיהָ	Speak tenderly to Jerusalem,
כִּי מַלְאָה צָבָאָה כִּי נִרְצָה עֹנֶיהָ	and cry to her
כִּי לָקְחָהּ מִיַּד יְהוָה כַּפָּלִים בְּכָל־חַטֹּאתֶיהָ:	that she has served her term,
	that her penalty is paid,
	that she has received from the LORD's hand
	double for all her sins.

CONTEXT: The lexical item occurs here in a synonymous parallelism with עֲוֹן. The different translations show the diversity in interpretation, especially with regard to עֲוֹן. *Sin* (NIV), *penalty* (NRSV, REB), *iniquity* (RSV, KJV, NJV), ἀμαρτία (LXX), *guilt* (NJB) are some of the equivalents used here. It is obvious that the translations struggle between identifying it as a kind of חטא or describing it as a result of חטא.

Regardless of one's exact view of the origin of the book of Isaiah, it is generally recognized that Chapter 40 forms the beginning of a major new section in the book. Given the fairly rigorous parallel structures that characterize the whole book my preference is to translate עֲוֹן as *iniquity*. This idea is reinforced by the perceived link with the beginning of the book (1.4) where the idea of *forgiveness for iniquity* is first introduced (see Childs, 2001:298). חטא is then a regular example of occurrence in the second position of synonymous parallelism with a wide generic scope of meaning.

WVI: The link between punishment and חטא is explicit. The source of punishment is also explicit: *Causality*.

42.24: חָטְאוּ *Verb, qal perfect, first person common plural*

מִיָּתֵן לְמַשָּׁה יַעֲקֹב וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְבוֹזִים
הָלוּא יְהוָה זֶה חָטְאוּנוּ לוֹ
וְלֹא־אָבוּ בְּדַרְכֵּי הָלוֹךְ
וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ בְּתוֹרָתוֹ:

Who gave up Jacob to the spoiler,
and Israel to the robbers?
Was it not the LORD, against whom we have sinned,
in whose ways they would not walk,
and whose law they would not obey?

CONTEXT: The devastating results of חָטָא are clear in the context. Is this a confession? The MT seems to suggest so. The 1st person plural suffix must refer to the people. The LXX has 3rd person plural here. This problem cannot be solved here. Important is to note that the people were robbed, plundered and trapped, they have become a prey. This was all done by the LORD, because the people have sinned. Manifestations of this behaviour are: not walking in the ways of the LORD, and not obeying his law.

WVI: Again *Causality* is the major issue when חָטָא is in play. It is directed against *Causality* in broad and general terms.

43.24: בְּחַטְאוֹתַיָּךְ *Noun, feminine plural construct with second person masculine singular suffix*

לֹא־קָנִיתִי לִי בַכֶּסֶף קָנָה
וְחָלַב זֶבַחֶיךָ לֹא הִרְוִיתָנִי
אֲךָ הִעֲבַדְתָּנִי בְּחַטְאוֹתַיָּךְ
הוֹגַעְתָּנִי בְּעֹנֹתַיָּךְ:

You have not bought me sweet cane with money,
or satisfied me with the fat of your sacrifices.
But you have burdened me with your sins;
you have wearied me with your iniquities.

CONTEXT: The LORD is the speaker. חָטָא is compared to different kinds of behaviour. In 2.4.1. of this chapter the parallel structure is explained. חָטָא is parallel to *offerings* in 43.23b, colon a. The contrast is between the fact that the LORD has not burdened his people with all kinds of cultic demands, while the people burdened him with חָטָא which has a negative impact on their relationship.

WVI: Again it is emphasized that *Causality* claims the loyalty of the people. The *Relationship* should be maintained. The struggle is still the same: the people should not move from *Self* to *Other* and if this has happened it should be reversed. In the cultic context where this is put, the correct use of *Space* and *Time* is important, i.e. the observation of the correct way of maintaining the *Relationship* with *Causality*.

43.25: וְחַטְאוֹתַיָּךְ *Noun, feminine plural construct with second person masculine singular suffix*

אֲנֹכִי אֲנֹכִי הוּא מוֹחָה פֶּשְׁעֶיךָ לְמַעְנִי
וְחַטְאוֹתַיָּךְ לֹא אֶזְכֹּר:

I, I am He
who blots out your transgressions for my own sake,
and I will not remember your sins.

CONTEXT: Although the verse follows 24, the context is somewhat different. The focus is on the LORD's forgiving attitude towards his people. The order in the parallel structure is the regular one and should be interpreted as such.

WVI: The initiative of forgiving חטא is on the side of *Causality*.

43.27: חטא Verb, *qal perfect, third person masculine singular*

אָבִיךָ הָרָאשׁוֹן חָטָא וּמְלִיצֶיךָ פָּשְׁעוּ בִּי:	Your first ancestor sinned, and your interpreters transgressed against me.
--	---

CONTEXT: Basically similar to the previous occurrences. The LORD is still speaking. The context has slightly changed to that of a court of law. In 2.4.1. of this chapter the parallel relationship with פשע demonstrates the normal wide semantic range for חטא.

WVI: Again חטא is described as a breach of *Relationship* between *Causality* and *Self*.

44.22: חטאותיך Noun, *feminine plural construct with second person masculine singular suffix*

מַחֲיִיתִי כְעָב פִּשְׁעֶיךָ וְכַעֲנַן חַטָּאוֹתֶיךָ שׁוּבָה אֵלַי כִּי גִאֲלֵתִיךָ:	I have swept away your transgressions like a cloud, and your sins like mist; return to me, for I have redeemed you.
---	---

CONTEXT: Similar to previous three references. The LORD is the speaker, offering forgiveness to his people. Another synonymous parallelism with פשע in line with the analysis in Section 2.4.7.

WVI: See previous reference.

53.12: חטא Noun, *masculine singular construct*

לְכֵן אֶחְלֶק־לּוֹ דְּרָבִים וְאֶת־עֲצוּמִים יַחְלֶק שְׁלָל תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר הִעֲרָה לְמוֹת נָפְשׁוֹ וְאֶת־פִּשְׁעֵים נִמְנָה וְהוּא חַטָּא־רָבִים נָשָׂא וְלַפִּשְׁעִים יִפְגִּיעַ:	Therefore I will allot him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he poured out himself to death, and was numbered with the transgressors; yet he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.
---	---

CONTEXT: In Section 2.4.3. it was already made clear that חטא here is not parallel to פשע.

The lexical item is used in its usual broad generic sense, given the unspecific general statements in this section.

OTHER SOURCES: Although not all scholars do agree (Watts, 1987:225), it is most likely that the LORD is the speaker here. Childs (2001:419) qualifies this as "divine speech" and there is no obvious reason to follow Watts's complicated solution here that seems designed to suit his portrayal of the book of Isaiah as a drama.

WVI: The main issue is restoration of the *Relationship* between *Self* and *Causality* at the initiative of the latter.

58.1: חַטָּאתָם *Noun, feminine plural construct with third person masculine plural suffix*

קְרֹא בְּגֵרוֹן אֶל־תַּחֲשֹׁךְ כְּשׁוֹפָר הָרֶם קוֹלְךָ
וְהִגַּד לְעַמִּי פִשְׁעָם וּלְבֵית יַעֲקֹב חַטָּאתָם:

Shout out, do not hold back!
Lift up your voice like a trumpet!
Announce to my people their rebellion,
to the house of Jacob their sins.

CONTEXT: Important is to answer the questions ‘Who is addressing?’ and ‘Who is being addressed?’ The latter is clear: The people are being addressed. And given the fact that the imperative in this sentence is singular the best explanation is that the LORD tells the prophet to address the people. In that case the prophet is to expose the חַטָּא of the people. The usual widening of semantic scope takes place in the parallelism with פִּשְׁעָם. The rest of the chapter makes the negative moral behaviour more explicit. The problem mainly exists in wrong observation of the rules for fasting and keeping the Sabbath. At the same time it is important to note that it is not only observing these rules that counts. It is more important to work against injustice and oppression, at the same time feeding the hungry and helping the homeless, poor, and naked.

WVI: Similar to the previous occurrences. An additional variable in focus is *Time*. The rules for Sabbath and fasting are correctly observed, but loyalty to *Causality* is not only expressed in keeping these rules.

59.2: וְחַטָּאוֹתֵיכֶם *Noun, feminine plural construct with second person masculine plural suffix*

כִּי אִם־עֲוֹנוֹתֵיכֶם הֵיוּ מְבַדְּלִים בֵּינֵיכֶם
לְבֵין אֱלֹהֵיכֶם
וְחַטָּאוֹתֵיכֶם הִסְתִּירוּ פָנָיו מִכֶּם מִשְׁמוֹעַ:

Rather, your iniquities have been barriers
between you and your God,
and your sins have hidden his face from you
so that he does not hear.

CONTEXT: This is a typical example of second position occurrence in synonymous parallelism and therefore of the wide generic semantic scope of חַטָּא. The context does not give many indications for the semantic components of the lexical item, other than the usual portrayal of unacceptable behaviour in connection with other people.

WVI: The text clearly expresses that חַטָּא breaks the *Relationship* between people and *Causality*. It encompasses also the *Relationship* of a person with *Self* and *Other*.

59.12: וְחַטָּאוֹתֵינוּ *Noun, feminine plural construct with first person common plural suffix*

כִּי־רַבּוּ פְּשָׁעֵינוּ נִגְדָּךְ
וְחַטָּאוֹתֵינוּ עִנְתָּה בָנוּ
כִּי־פְשָׁעֵינוּ אִתָּנוּ וְעֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ יָדְעָנוּם:

For our transgressions before you are many,
and our sins testify against us.
Our transgressions indeed are with us,
and we know our iniquities:

CONTEXT: As in 59.2, a typical second position occurrence in synonymous parallelism.

WVI: As in 59.2.

64.4(5): וַנִּחַטָּא *Verb, qal imperfect waw consec., first person common plural*

פָּנַעְתָּ אֶת־שֹׁשׁ וְעָשָׂה צְדָק בְּדַרְכֶּיךָ יִזְכְּרוּךְ
הֵן־אַתָּה קִצַּפְתָּ וַנִּחַטָּא בָּהֶם עוֹלָם וְנִנְשָׁע:

You meet those who gladly do right,
those who remember you in your ways.
But you were angry, and we sinned;
because you hid yourself we transgressed.

CONTEXT: This text has a number of textual and interpretation problems. In the NRSV the suggestion is that because of God's anger people committed חטא. Beuken's explanation (1989:38) that this should be read in a liturgical fashion is a good option. 'You were angry: We sinned.' The contrast is with *righteousness*.

WVI: No additional insights.

65.20: וַיִּחַטָּא *Verb, qal participle, masculine singular*

CONTEXT: חטא here has an entirely different meaning: to fall short of. It is therefore irrelevant for further analysis of negative moral behaviour.

3.2. עון

Isa 1.4: עון *Noun, masculine singular*

הוּי גוֹי חַטָּא עִם כָּבֵד עוֹן זָרַע מְרָעִים
בָּנִים מְשַׁחֲתִים
עֲזָבוּ אֶת־יְהוָה נֹאצִי אֶת־קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל
נָזְרוּ אַחֲזָר:

Ah, sinful nation,
people laden with iniquity,
offspring who do evil,
children who deal corruptly,
who have forsaken the LORD,
who have despised the Holy One of Israel,
who are utterly estranged!

CONTEXT: See 3.1. Measured against its parallel line in the chiasmic structure, it appears that עון has the meaning of *to forsake the LORD*. In the given context it is hard to distinguish the meaning substantially from that of חטא.

OTHER SOURCES: Watts (1985:18) notes that עון is a parallel word of חטא. It "has a basic meaning of being 'crooked' which leads to a life or deed that is wrong. This word suggests that the subject has an attitude that is not in line with God's will. עון seems to always include the sense of guilt." Similar ideas are expressed by Jenni & Westermann (1997:863). 3.1. under Isaiah 1.4 comments on the limited value of such an approach for semantic analysis.

WVI: Again – see 3.1. At this point too there are no obvious differences with חטא to be identified.

5.18: הָעוֹן *Noun, masculine singular*

See Section 3.1. of this chapter.

6.7: עֲוֹןָךְ *Noun, masculine singular construct with second person masculine singular suffix*

וַיִּנֶּעַ עַל־פִּי וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה נִגַּע זֶה עַל־שִׁפְתֶיךָ וְסֵר
עֲוֹנְךָ וְחַטָּאתְךָ תִּכָּפֵר: The seraph touched my mouth with it and said: "Now that
this has touched your lips, your guilt has departed and
your sin is blotted out."

See 3.1. There is no semantic reason to translate עֲוֹן in 6.7 differently from the occurrence in 5.18, as in the (N)RSV (this is also the case in NIV and REB, but apparently for different reasons). There is no indication that there is a cause-effect relationship in which חַטָּא (*sin* in the NRSV) leads to עֲוֹן (*guilt* in 6.7; *iniquity* in 5.18). The expected order in such a case would have been חַטָּא > עֲוֹן, but the opposite is true. There are no other reasons to justify a difference in translation. There is clearly a connection with the 'unclean lips' in 6.5, but it appears that both חַטָּא and עֲוֹן cause a person to be unclean.

13.11: עֲוֹנָם *Noun, masculine singular construct with third person masculine plural suffix*

וּפָקַדְתִּי עַל־תְּהִלַּת רָעָה וְעַל־רָשָׁעִים עֲוֹנָם
וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי גָאוֹן זָדִים וְגִאוֹת עָרִיצִים אֲשָׁפִיל: I will punish the world for its evil,
and the wicked for their iniquity;
I will put an end to the pride of the arrogant,
and lay low the insolence of tyrants.

CONTEXT: The context is largely similar to that in 3.1. under Isaiah 13.9. At this point in the text the kind of negative moral behaviour becomes more explicit. A few other observations are relevant. עֲוֹן is parallel to רָעָה, and it is committed by רָשָׁעִים another lexical item in the same domain. In other words, the position of עֲוֹן within the domain is central in terms of its semantic connectivity. The context explicitly links this lexical item to behaviour such as pride, arrogance, and tyranny.

OTHER SOURCES: It is remarkable that Childs (2001:117/8) makes no distinction in the translation of חַטָּא in 13.9 and עֲוֹן in 13.11. Both are translated as *sin*. The same observation applies to Watts (1985:192). They do not explain their decision.

WVI: It was already observed under 13.9 in 3.1. that the jurisdiction of *Causality* goes beyond Israel and Judah. This is confirmed by this text. The lexical item תְּהִלַּת is known to include the entire universe. This is what is being punished. In other words, those belonging to *Other* are also subject to punishment by *Causality*.

14.21: בְּעֹן *Noun, masculine singular construct*

הַכִּינוּ לְבָנָיו מִטְבַּח בְּעֹן אֲבוֹתָם
בִּלְיָקְמוּ וְיִרְשׁוּ אֶרֶץ וּמִלְאוּ פְּנֵי־תְהוֹמֹת עָרִים: Prepare slaughter for his sons
because of the guilt of their father.
Let them never rise to possess the earth
or cover the face of the world with cities.

CONTEXT: As in the previous example the context still talks of the judgement over Babylon, this time the focus is on the king. He is referred to as being רָשָׁע in 14.5. Their deeds are

רעע in 14.20. In other words, again עון shows its wide semantic connectivity. The behaviour portrayed by the king is that of tyranny, oppression and persecution.

OTHER SOURCES: NRSV again translates *guilt*, and so do RSV, NJB, and NJV. However, NIV, REB, KJV translate *sin* or *iniquity*. Childs (2001:210) translates *sin*, while Watts (1985:206) and Blenkinsopp (2000:284) opt for *guilt*. Again, it is difficult, on the basis of the context, to justify that *guilt* should be preferred to *iniquity*.

WVI: Similar to those of the previous example. In terms of *Space* it appears that other cities apart from Zion are often an expression of wrong orientation in terms of loyalty to *Causality*.

22.14: העון *Noun, masculine singular*

וַיִּגְלֶה בְּאָזְנִי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת
אִם-יִכָּפֵר הָעוֹן הַזֶּה לָכֶם עַד-תָּמֹתוּן
אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת:

The LORD of hosts has revealed himself in my ears:
Surely this iniquity will not be forgiven you until you die,
says the Lord GOD of hosts.

CONTEXT: The use of the *article* suggests a specific reference to something in the immediate context. This is apparently the disobedience displayed by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. They did not recognize the LORD as the one who liberated the city and they disobeyed his command to weep and mourn, but instead decided to celebrate.

OTHER SOURCES: The fact that the article has a function of reference is underscored in the NRSV by translating *this iniquity*.

WVI: עון is immediately linked to disobeying *Causality*. It represents a breach of obedience and therefore deserves punishment. The punishment is severe. There is no possibility to restore the *Relationship* between the people and *Causality*. The breach in this *Relationship* is connected to *Space*. There needs to be a balance between *Causality*, *Space* and people (*Self* if the *Relationship* is fine, *Other* if there is a breach).

26.21: עון *Noun, masculine singular construct*

כִּי-הֵנָּה יְהוָה יֵצֵא מִמְּקוֹמוֹ
לְפָקֵד עוֹן יֹשְׁבֵי-הָאָרֶץ עָלָיו
וַיִּגְלֹתָהּ הָאָרֶץ אֶת-דָּמָהּ
וְלֹא-תִכְסֶּה עוֹד עַל-הַרוֹגֶיהָ:

For the LORD comes out from his place
to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity;
the earth will disclose the blood shed on it,
and will no longer cover its slain.

CONTEXT: It is important to identify יֹשְׁבֵי-הָאָרֶץ. It appears that these are contrasted with עַמִּי at the beginning of 26.20. The *inhabitants of the earth*, as the NRSV calls them, are those who do not belong to *my people*. The wrath of the LORD will come, but it is possible to escape from it. In *his place* (where the LORD comes from to punish the inhabitants of the earth) there is security. This idea of security in the place of the LORD is already expressed

in 26.1: *we have a strong city*, and *he sets up victory*. The explicit reference of עֹן is obviously the fact that blood has been shed.

WVI: The common variables of *Space* (as a positive notion if related to *Causality*) and *Self-Other*, depending on one's attitude towards *Causality* are also concentrated in this verse.

27.9: עֹן *Noun, masculine singular construct*

לְכֵן בִּזְאֵת יִכָּפֵר עֹן יַעֲקֹב	Therefore by this the guilt of Jacob will be expiated,
וְזֶה כָּל-פְּרִי הַסֵּר חַטָּאתוֹ	and this will be the full fruit of the removal of his sin:
בְּשִׁימוֹ כָּל-אַבְנֵי מִזְבֵּחַ כְּאַבְנֵי-גֶר מִנְפָצוֹת	when he makes all the stones of the altars
לֹא-יָקֻמוּ אֲשֶׁרִים וְחֻמֵּי:	like chalkstones crushed to pieces,
	no sacred poles or incense altars will remain standing.

CONTEXT and WVI: See 3.1.

OTHER SOURCES: Just as in 6.7 and other examples the translation of *guilt* in NRSV suggests a distinction that is not clearly justified by the (con)text.

30.13: הָעֹן *Noun, masculine singular*

לְכֵן יִהְיֶה לָכֶם הָעֹן הַזֶּה	therefore this iniquity shall become for you
כְּפֶרֶץ נִפְלַג גִּבְעָה בְּחוֹמָה נִשְׁגָּבָה	like a break in a high wall, bulging out, and about to
אֲשֶׁר-פִּתְאֻם לִפְתָּע יָבוֹא שִׁבְרָהּ:	collapse,
	whose crash comes suddenly, in an instant;

CONTEXT: Just as in 22.14 the text suggests an explicit reference because of the use of the article. In this case the reference is to rejecting this word (of the LORD) and to trust in oppression and deceit. The עֹן will be the cause of total collapse. The metaphor of the wall could be interpreted as a reference to the collapse of Jerusalem.

WVI: Wrong allegiance is the cause of rejection. This affects the *Relationship of Self-Other* to *Causality* with a distant reference to *Space*.

33.24: עֹן *Noun, masculine singular*

וּבִלְיָאֹמֶר שָׁכֵן חֲלִיתִי	And no inhabitant will say, "I am sick";
הָעָם הַיֹּשֵׁב בָּהּ נִשָּׂא עֹן:	the people who live there will be forgiven their iniquity.

CONTEXT: This text (as well as the entire chapter) is difficult to interpret (see Childs, 2001:244-246), but this is not the place to elaborate on that. For immediate semantic significance with regard to the lexical item that is being studied, it is important to note that the context talks about the inhabitants of Jerusalem (33.20). The entire chapter shows that the people (or the prophet on their behalf) look to the LORD for salvation (33.2, 22). The reference is to negative moral behaviour that can be forgiven, apparently by the LORD, given the context. In Jerusalem there is no space for עֹן as a result of the

LORD's forgiveness. The text does suggest a connection between sickness and עָוֹן. There is the assumption that the latter is the cause of the first.

WVI: *Causality* is able to restore the right balance (*Relationship*) with humanity. In *Space* dedicated to *Causality* there is no room for negative moral behaviour, nor physical incompleteness.

40.2: עֲוֹנוֹתָּהּ *Noun, masculine plural construct with third person feminine singular suffix*

See Section 3.1. of this chapter.

43.24: בְּעֹנֹתֶיךָ *Noun, masculine plural construct with second person masculine singular suffix*

לֹא-קָנִיתָ לִּי בַכֶּסֶף קָנָה	You have not bought me sweet cane with money,
וְחֵלֶב זֶבַחֶיךָ לֹא הָרִוּתָנִי	or satisfied me with the fat of your sacrifices.
אֲךָ הָעֲבֹדָתִי בַחַטָּאוֹתֶיךָ	But you have burdened me with your sins;
הוֹגַעְתָּנִי בְּעֹנֹתֶיךָ:	you have wearied me with your iniquities.

See Section 3.1. of this chapter. The semantic parallel in the wider structure connects עָוֹן with *frankincense* in 43.23, colon d. In terms of its semantic relations this reflects the normal relationship with חַטָּא.

50.1: בְּעֹנֹתֵיכֶם *Noun, masculine plural construct with second person masculine plural suffix*

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה	Thus says the LORD:
אֵי זֶה סֵפֶר כְּרִיתוֹת אֲמַכֶּם אֲשֶׁר שְׁלַחְתִּיהָ	Where is your mother's bill of divorce
אֲזִי מִי מִנּוּשֵׁי אֲשֶׁר-מִכַּרְתִּי אֹתְכֶם לֹ	with which I put her away?
הֵן בְּעֹנֹתֵיכֶם נִמְכַּרְתֶּם	Or which of my creditors is it
וּבַפִּשְׁעֵיכֶם שְׁלַחָה אֲמַכֶּם:	to whom I have sold you?
	No, because of your sins you were sold,
	and for your transgressions your mother was put away.

CONTEXT: This is a case in which עָוֹן parallels פֶּשַׁע in the regular way (see 2.4.2. in this chapter). The first lexical item then represents the wider semantic scope in the domain of negative moral behaviour. In the chiasitic structure עָוֹן matches the fact that the addressee(s) was/were sold to a creditor. This is clearly a negative reflection of the LORD on the relationship with his people as a result of the fact that his people had not been loyal to him. And again it is the LORD who is able to redeem his people.

OTHER SOURCES: Here too, there is a variety in the translation of עָוֹן. RSV and KJV translate *iniquities*, NRSV, NJV, and NIV *sins*, REB *wickedness*, and NJB *misdeeds*. Again the context does not provide sufficient grounds for a deviation from the normal translational equivalent.

WVI: The focus is again on the broken *Relationship* between *Causality* and his people whose intention it is to belong to *Other* while *Causality* prefers them to belong to *Self*. At the same time the *Space* variable plays a role to emphasize this point. Behind the metaphor

the deplorable political fate of Jerusalem reinforces the need to maintain the correct
Relationship with Causality.

53.5: מְעֹנְתֵינוּ *Noun, masculine plural construct with first person common plural suffix*

וְהוּא מִחֻלָּל מִפְשָׁעֵנוּ מִדָּכָא מְעֹנְתֵינוּ
מוֹסֵר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ עָלָיו וּבִחְבֻרָתוֹ נִרְפָּא-לָנוּ:

But he was wounded for our transgressions,
crushed for our iniquities;
upon him was the punishment that made us whole,
and by his bruises we are healed.

CONTEXT: This verse largely confirms the analysis of the previous example. The context makes clear that behaviour of the kind of עֹן calls for punishment from the LORD, while he is also the only one who is able to restore the broken relationship. Even though it may be used metaphorically, there is again a reference to lack of physical well being for the one who is involved in committing עֹן.

WVI: The focus is on *Relationship* between *Causality* and the people. עֹן destroys this *Relationship*. The restoration requires payment.

53.6: עֹן *Noun, masculine singular construct*

כָּלֵנוּ כָּצֵאֵן תַּעֲיִנוּ אִישׁ לְדַרְכּוֹ פָּנִינוּ
וַיהוָה הִפְגִּיעַ בּוֹ אֶת עֹן כָּלֵנוּ:

All we like sheep have gone astray;
we have all turned to our own way,
and the LORD has laid on him
the iniquity of us all.

CONTEXT: Not essentially different from the previous verse. In this verse the emphasis is on going astray and going our own way.

WVI: Again the *Relationship* between *Causality* and his people is the focus of attention. If people want to belong to *Self* loyalty towards *Causality* is essential.

53.11: וְעֹנֵתָם *Noun, masculine plural construct with third person masculine plural suffix*

מֵעַמְל נִפְשׁוֹ יֵרָאֶה יִשְׁבַּע בְּדַעְתּוֹ
יַצְדִּיק צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי לְרַבִּים וְעֹנֵתָם הוּא יִסְבֵּל:

Out of his anguish he shall see light;
he shall find satisfaction through his knowledge.
The righteous one, my servant, shall make many righteous,
and he shall bear their iniquities.

CONTEXT: Not essentially different from the preceding two examples. The new dimension consists of the contrast with צַדִּיק.

WVI: One of the characteristics of correct *Relationships* is the presence of צַדִּיק. This can not be achieved if one is occupied by עֹן.

57.17: בָּעֹן *Noun, masculine singular construct*

בָּעֹן בָּצְעוּ קִצְפָתִי וְאַכְהוּ הִסְתֵּר וְאַקְצַף
וַיֵּלֶךְ שׁוֹבֵב בְּדַרְךָ לְבוֹ:

Because of their wicked covetousness I was angry;
I struck them, I hid and was angry;
but they kept turning back to their own ways.

CONTEXT: Here עֲוֹן qualifies greedy behaviour. This is apparently one of what the LORD calls *their own ways* in the last colon of this verse.

WVI: Broken *Relationship* with *Causality* is the crucial point. Following your own will excludes a person from *Self*.

59.2: עֲוֹנֵיכֶם *Noun, masculine plural construct with second person masculine plural suffix*

See Section 3.1. of this chapter.

59.3: בְּעֵוֹן *Noun, masculine singular*

כִּי כַפֵּיכֶם נִגְאָלוּ בַדָּם וְאֶצְבְּעוֹתֵיכֶם בְּעֵוֹן
שִׁפְתוֹתֵיכֶם דִּבְרוּ-שָׁקֶר לְשׁוֹנֵכֶם עוֹלָה תִּהְיֶה:
For your hands are defiled with blood,
and your fingers with iniquity;
your lips have spoken lies,
your tongue mutters wickedness.

CONTEXT: Similar to that of the previous verse. In the parallel line the description of what exactly constitutes this type of negative moral behaviour and creates the ‘barriers between you and your God’ (59.2) is more explicit and more narrowly defined: to be defiled with blood.

WVI: The main focus is on broken *Relationship* with other people as a cause of broken *Relationship* with *Causality*. This cause naturally ties in with behaviour in the realm of *Self – Other*.

59.12: וְעֲוֹנֵינוּ *Noun, masculine plural construct with first person common plural suffix*

כִּי־רַבּוּ פְשָׁעֵינוּ נִגְדָּךְ וְחַטָּאוֹתֵינוּ עֲנָתָה בָנוּ
כִּי־פְשָׁעֵינוּ אִתָּנוּ וְעֲוֹנֵינוּ יָדְעָנוּם:
For our transgressions before you are many,
and our sins testify against us.
Our transgressions indeed are with us,
and we know our iniquities:

CONTEXT: In this chapter it is difficult to determine who is the speaker and who is the addressee. They change constantly. It may safely be assumed that in verse 12 the community is speaking. They are probably the same as the ones addressed in 59.3. In other words, the עֲוֹן applies to the same people in spite of the different pronouns used in the context. It appears that there is a regular co-occurrence with פֶּשַׁע. So a widening of semantic scope takes place between the last two colons. The next verse describes the semantic content: not following the ways of the LORD and not observing justice.

WVI: The *Relationship* with *Causality* is negatively affected by עֲוֹן, while there is also the impact on inter-human *Relationship*.

64.5 (6): *Noun, masculine plural construct with first person common plural suffix*

וְנָהִי כְטֹמֵא כְלָנוּ וְכָבֵד עֲדִים כָּל־צְדָקָתֵינוּ
וְנִבָּל כְּעֵלָה כְּלָנוּ וְעֹנְנוּ כְּרוּחַ יִשְׁאָנוּ:

We have all become like one who is unclean,
and all our righteous deeds are like a filthy cloth.
We all fade like a leaf,
and our iniquities, like the wind, take us away.

CONTEXT: As part of this prayer of penitence the people also express their faith that their עֲוֹן can be forgiven. It is clear that עֲוֹן results in uncleanness, which is compared to a filthy cloth. In the following verses this is connected with 'not calling on the name of the LORD.'

WVI: Because of the general nature of the confession it is hard to identify any specific world view issues in this context, apart from the fact that *Relationship* is negatively affected by it. Uncleanness blocks certain relationships, particularly that with *Causality*.

64.6 (7): *Noun, masculine singular construct with first person common plural suffix*

וְאִין־קוֹרֵא בְשִׁמְךָ מִתְעוֹרֵר לְהַחֲזִיק בְּךָ
כִּי־הִסְתַּרְתָּ פָנֶיךָ מִמֶּנּוּ וְהִמּוּגְנוּ בִיד־עֹנְנוּ:

There is no one who calls on your name,
or attempts to take hold of you;
for you have hidden your face from us,
and have delivered us into the hand of our iniquity.

CONTEXT: Similar to that of the previous verse. The fact the עֲוֹן estranges someone totally from the LORD is emphasized.

WVI: The fact the עֲוֹן completely destroys *Relationship* between *Causality* and humanity is clearly expressed. Belonging to *Other* means being deprived of the presence of *Causality*.

64.8 (9): *Noun, masculine singular*

אַל־תִּקְצַף יְהוָה עַד־מָאֵד
וְאַל־לֵעַד תִּזְכֹּר עֲוֹן הֵן הַבְּשִׁנָּה עִמָּךְ כְּלָנוּ:

Do not be exceedingly angry, O LORD,
and do not remember iniquity forever.
Now consider, we are all your people.

CONTEXT: Basically the same as in the previous examples. In order to belong to *your people* the LORD should not remember עֲוֹן.

WVI: It is obvious that *Causality* can restore the *Relationship*, so that people can belong to *Self*.

65.7: *Noun, masculine plural construct with second person masculine plural suffix*

עֲוֹנֵיכֶם וְעֲוֹנֵת אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם יַחְדּוֹ אָמַר יְהוָה
אֲשֶׁר קִטְרוּ עַל־הַהָרִים וְעַל־הַגְּבוּעוֹת חִרְפוּנִי
וּמִדַּתִּי פָעַלְתֶּם רֹאשָׁנָה אֶל־חֵיקֶם:

their iniquities and their ancestors' iniquities together,
says the LORD;
because they offered incense on the mountains
and reviled me on the hills,
I will measure into their laps
full payment for their actions.

CONTEXT: The complaint of the LORD contains a long list of unacceptable behaviour (see 65.1-5). It entails general comments of not seeking the LORD to specific kinds of

unacceptable behaviour related to sacrifice, and breaching the laws in general and indulging in pagan worship.²⁴

WVI: Issues of *Space* (offering in the wrong places), *Time* ('when I spoke you did not listen') and *Relationship* with regard to *Causality* in general are in focus in this context. The struggle is between *Causality* who wants the behaviour of his people such that they belong to *Self*, while the actual behaviour of the people is that which belongs to *Other*. The second occurrence of עָוֹן in this verse does not have any semantic differences with the first one.

3.3. פִּשַׁע

Isa 1.2: פִּשַׁעוּ Verb, qal perfect, third person common plural

שָׁמְעוּ שָׁמַיִם וְהָאֲרֶץ כִּי יְהוָה דִּבֶּר	Hear, O heavens, and listen, O earth;
בָּנִים גִּדְּלֹתִי וְרוֹמְמֹתִי וְהֵם פִּשַׁעוּ בִּי:	for the LORD has spoken: I reared children and brought them up, but they have rebelled against me.

CONTEXT: The mood is one of accusation by the LORD against his people for the fact that they have decided to follow their own ways. The LORD identifies himself as their owner. The fact that the preposition -בִּי has been used suggests that this was a deliberate act of the people to separate themselves from the LORD. In 1.4 it is made clear that פִּשַׁע is closely related to some other lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour.

WVI: The main problem is in the area of *Relationship* and *Causality*. An important aspect is the fact that from the perspective of *Causality* the people identify themselves with *Other* instead of *Self*. The cause of the broken *Relationship* is the people themselves. They break it, while the LORD wants it to be healed.

1.28: פִּשַׁעִים Verb, qal participle, masculine plural

See Section 3.1. of this chapter. The same comments on Isa 1.28 that refer to חַטָּא also apply to פִּשַׁע in this case. The semantic development between the two lexical items is the regular widening the semantic scope as was already demonstrated in 2.4.7.

24.20: פִּשְׁעָה Noun, masculine singular construct with third person feminine singular suffix

נֹעַ תִּנּוּעַ אֶרֶץ כְּשֹׁכָר וְהִתְנוּדָה כְּמִלּוּנָה	The earth staggers like a drunkard,
וְכִבֵּד עָלֶיהָ פִּשְׁעָה וְנָפְלָה וְלֹא-תִסִּיף קוּם:	it sways like a hut; its transgression lies heavy upon it, and it falls, and will not rise again.

²⁴ Most commentaries and modern translations go along with the assumption of the LXX and Syriac that a 3rd person plural suffix is intended. Beuken (1989:69) simply states that the context demands this and that it is not uncommon in Hebrew poetry to change the direction of speech.

CONTEXT: The wider context talks about total desolation and destruction of the earth. A few concrete issues are mentioned in a parallel sentence. The inhabitants have transgressed laws, violated the statutes and broken the everlasting covenant (24.5). In 24.20 this is summarized as *transgression* that *lies heavily upon it*. The exact nature of this negative moral behaviour remains vague. It appears that this stage of desolation is a step towards restoration of the rule of the LORD in Jerusalem.

OTHER SOURCES: Childs (2001:176) and Blenkinsopp, (2000: 353) translate with the lexical item that has the widest semantic scope, *sins*. Watts (1985:323) also uses a fairly general term, *guilt*. Most translations also deviate from the commonly used equivalent *rebel(lion)*. NRSV and RSV translate *transgression*, NJV *iniquity*, NJB *sin*, REB *sins*. Only NIV tries to retain something of the literal form by translating it as a descriptive phrase, *guilt of its rebellion*. Only Gray (1912:406) in his commentary maintains *rebellion*.

WVI: In terms of world view only the very general observation can be made that there is a broken *Relationship* between *Causality* and humanity. This broken *Relationship* has implications for *Space*.

43.25: פָּשְׁעֵיךָ Noun, masculine plural construct with second person masculine singular suffix

See Section 3.1. of this chapter. This is a regular case of parallelism in which the first occurrence has a narrower semantic scope than the second. Whether or not there is an element of more deliberately going against the will of the LORD, as suggested by Beuken (1986:191-192) cannot be determined on the basis of the present text.

43.27: פָּשְׁעוּ Verb, qal perfect, third person common plural

See Section 3.1. of this chapter. In this specific instance the deliberate aspect of the negative moral behaviour is obvious, as in the example of 1.2. The same preposition is used.

44.22: פָּשְׁעֵיךָ Noun, masculine plural construct with second person masculine singular suffix

See Section 3.1. of this chapter. It is interesting to note that the similes used in this verse seem to support the analysis of the broader semantic scope for חַטָּא in connection to פָּשַׁע.

46.8: פּוֹשְׁעִים Verb, qal participle, masculine plural

זָכְרוּ-זֹאת וְהִתְאָשְׁשׁוּ הָשִׁיבוּ פּוֹשְׁעִים עַל-לֵב: Remember this and consider,
recall it to mind, you transgressors,

CONTEXT: The fact that the people do not *remember things of old* makes them פּוֹשְׁעִים. In verse 9 this is put in the context of recognizing the LORD as the only God. The preceding passage has already given expression to the fact that the LORD does not want to be

compared to other gods, notably those of Babylon. The use of imperatives at the beginning of the verse suggests that they knew what to remember. They chose to follow other directions.

WVI: A deliberate breach of *Relationship* with *Causality*. The passage emphasizes that there is only one source of *Causality*. Anything else that is recognized besides it not acceptable and leads from *Self* to *Other*.

48.8: וּפִשַׁע Verb, *qal* participle, masculine singular

<p>גַּם לֹא־שָׁמַעְתָּ גַּם לֹא יָדַעְתָּ גַּם מֵאִזְלָא לֹא־פָתַחְתָּ אָזְנוֹךָ כִּי יָדַעְתִּי בְּגִדּוֹר תִּבְגְּנוֹד וּפִשַׁע מִבְּטֶן קָרָא לְךָ:</p>	<p>You have never heard, you have never known, from of old your ear has not been opened. For I knew that you would deal very treacherously, and that from birth you were called a rebel.</p>
---	---

CONTEXT: In the chapter the LORD announces 'new things (48.6)' Against that background the LORD declares that Israel has never been faithful to him, even from birth.

WVI: The variable that is clearly in focus here is *Causality*. Israel has always tried to find different explanation outside *Causality*.

50.1: וּבְפִשַׁעֵיכֶם Noun, masculine plural construct with second person masculine plural suffix

See Section 3.2. of this chapter. Given its use in synonymous parallelism there are no obvious semantic features that enable a description distinctive from in this case עֲוֹן.

53.5: מִפִּשְׁעֵנוּ Noun, masculine plural construct with first person common plural suffix

See Section 3.2. of this chapter.

53.8: מִפִּשַׁע Noun, masculine singular

<p>מֵעֵצָר וּמִמְשַׁפֵּט לָקַח וְאֶת־דִּדְרוֹ מִי יִשְׁלַח כִּי נִגְזַר מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים מִפִּשַׁע עַמִּי נִגַּע לְמוֹ:</p>	<p>By a perversion of justice he was taken away. Who could have imagined his future? For he was cut off from the land of the living, stricken for the transgression of my people.</p>
---	--

CONTEXT: No major differences with the previous occurrence. The textual problems in this verse (de Waard, 1997:194-195; Childs, 2001:417) make it difficult to exactly describe the context. But so much is clear that the apparently deliberate פִּשַׁע of the people lead to punishment.

WVI: The problem here consists of a deliberate breach of *Relationship* between the people and *Causality*.

53.12: פִּשְׁעֵי־ם Verb, *qal* participle, masculine plural

See Section 3.1. of this chapter. It is obvious from the surrounding lines that פִּשַׁע is a kind of חַטָּא. This observation applies to both occurrences of פִּשַׁע in this verse.

57.4: פֶּשַׁע *Noun, masculine singular*

עַל־מִי תִתְעַנְּנוּ עַל־מִי תִרְחִיבוּ פֶה תִּתְּרִיכוּ לָשׁוֹן
הֲלוֹא־אַתֶּם יְלְדֵי־פֶשַׁע זֶרַע שָׁקֶר:
Whom are you mocking?
Against whom do you open your mouth wide
and stick out your tongue?
Are you not children of transgression,
The offspring of deceit—

CONTEXT: In the synonymous parallelism פֶּשַׁע is equivalent to *deceit*, or the latter is a kind of the first. On the basis of the following verses one can conclude that the deceit consists of worshipping other gods. At the same time there is also a clear contrast between פֶּשַׁע and the living in peace of the righteous (57.1-2).

WVI: פֶּשַׁע constitutes a breach of *Relationship* with *Causality*. In this case it also explicitly means the wrong use of *Space*.

58.1: פֶּשַׁע־ם *Noun, masculine singular construct with third person masculine plural suffix*

See Section 3.1. of this chapter. Again it is possible to consider פֶּשַׁע as a kind of חַטָּא.

59.12: פִּשְׁעֵינוּ (two examples) *Noun, masculine plural construct with first person common plural suffix*

See Sections 3.1. and 3.2. of this chapter.

59.13: פֶּשַׁע *Verb, qal infinitive absolute*

פֶּשַׁע וְכַחַשׁ בִּיהוָה וְנָסוּג מֵאַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ
דִּבְרֵי־עֶשֶׂק וְסָרָה דָּרוֹ וְהִגּוּ מִלֵּב דִּבְרֵי־שָׁקֶר:
transgressing, and denying the LORD,
and turning away from following our God,
talking oppression and revolt,
conceiving lying words and uttering them from the heart.

CONTEXT: This is a clear example in which פֶּשַׁע functions as a kind of עֲוֹן. The last colon of 59.12 is an introductory line to a list of עֲוֹן. The first one to be mentioned is פֶּשַׁע and it is immediately connected with the LORD. In other words, it is an action against the LORD. The usual list is there: turning away from following our God, talking oppression and revolt, lying, no justice.

WVI: The most obvious element is deliberately breaching the *Relationship* with *Causality*.

59.20: פֶּשַׁע *Noun, masculine singular*

וְבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל וְלִשְׁבֵי פֶשַׁע בְּיַעֲקֹב
נֹאמַר יְהוָה:
And he will come to Zion as Redeemer,
to those in Jacob who turn from transgression,
says the LORD.

CONTEXT: Here פֶּשַׁע concludes the list that was started in 59.13. It is only those who turn away from all these types of negative moral behaviour that are willfully committed against the LORD who meet him in Zion.

WVI: The deliberate breach of *Relationship* with *Causality* is the crucial factor. This should end if we are to be part of Zion – positive use of *Space*.

66.24: הַפְּשָׁעִים *Verb, qal participle, masculine plural*

וַיֵּצְאוּ וַיִּרְאוּ בַּפְּגָרֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים הַפְּשָׁעִים בִּי כִי תוֹלַעְתָּם לֹא תִמּוּת וְאֵשׁם לֹא תִכְבֶּה וְהָיוּ הָרָאוֹן לְכָל-בָּשָׂר:	And they shall go out and look at the dead bodies of the people who have rebelled against me; for their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.
--	---

CONTEXT: This verse provides a vivid description of the fate of those who deliberately go against the will of the LORD. As in previous examples, the use of the preposition makes this explicit.

WVI: Again a deliberate breach of the *Relationship* with *Causality*.

3.4. אָן

Isa 1.13: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

לֹא תוֹסִיפוּ הִבִּיא מִנְחַת-שָׁוְא קִטְרֶת תוֹעֵבָה הִיא לִי חֹדֶשׁ וְשַׁבָּת קָרָא מִקְרָא לֹא-אוֹכֵל אָן וְעֶצְרָה:	bringing offerings is futile; incense is an abomination to me. New moon and sabbath and calling of convocation— I cannot endure solemn assemblies with iniquity.
---	---

CONTEXT: The immediate reference of this lexical item is to the various forms of improper worship that are being described in the surrounding verses. The LORD is blaming the people, not for observing correctly the right procedures for worship, but for combining it with an incorrect way of living. In other words, an insincere way of worshiping is defined as אָן.

WVI: The *Time* and *Space* variables are in play here. Both work negatively if they do not sincerely contribute towards observing the rules that are set by *Causality*. Even people who naturally belong to *Self* will be categorized as *Other* if the rules for correct living are neglected even if the rules for maintaining the cult are practiced.

10.1: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

הוּא הַחֲקִיקִים חֲקִיקֵי-אָן וּמִכְתָּבִים עָמַל כָּתְבוּ:	Ah, you who make iniquitous decrees, who write oppressive statutes,
---	--

CONTEXT: In this verse אָן is linked in the synonymous parallelism with עָמַל (another example occurs in 59.4 – see also the discussion under Section 2.2.7.2.). This is also a fairly generic lexical item that belongs to the domain of negative moral behaviour. It is difficult to be sure about the identity of the addressees, although some translations suggest otherwise. For the exact semantic analysis of אָן the question is not all that important. The context explicates the kind of behaviour clearly, regardless of the

addressees. The main emphasis is on injustice for the poor, the needy, the widows and the orphans.

WVI: In the above context the portrayed negative moral behaviour reflects negligence of a righteous and just *Relationship* between people, *Self-Other*. The context does not suggest a direct reference to *Causality*, although it is clearly implied in the wider context (see 10.3 and 4).

29.20: אָוֹן *Noun, masculine singular*

כִּי־אָפֶס עָרִיץ וְכָלָה לֵץ וְנִכְרְתוּ כָל־שֹׁקְדֵי אָוֹן:	For the tyrant shall be no more, and the scoffer shall cease to be; all those alert to do evil shall be cut off—
--	--

CONTEXT: The lexical item is again linked with the unjust behaviour of a leader who is violent and ruthless as the REB correctly translates, and with the one who talks big. The following verse specifies this kind of behaviour as unjust.

WVI: The lexical item focuses on broken *Relationship* between human beings (*Self-Other*), particularly in the area of deliberately denying justice, while one is in a position to provide it, or even is *supposed* to provide by virtue of one's position of power. This kind of behaviour obstructs the right *Relationship* with *Causality*.

31.2: אָוֹן *Noun, masculine singular*

וְגַם־הוּא חָכָם וַיָּבֵא רָע וְאֶת־דִּבְרָיו לֹא הִסִּיר וְקָם עַל־בֵּית מְרֵעִים וְעַל־עֲזָרָת פְּעֻלֵי אָוֹן:	Yet he too is wise and brings disaster; he does not call back his words, but will rise against the house of the evildoers, and against the helpers of those who work iniquity.
---	---

CONTEXT: There is a parallel with a form אָוֹן (for a more detailed analysis see 2.4.7.). In both cases the semantic application of the lexical items is fairly broad and general. The kind of behaviour is not specified (lack of justice or otherwise?). It is also not explicated against whom the negative behaviour is directed (against other people or the LORD?). The point that is clear, though, is the fact that this behaviour is punishable by the LORD. It is also clear that negative moral behaviour is not something that is only punishable if it is committed by the people of Judah or Israel. Even those who don't belong to God's people are measured by the same standards.

WVI: The only obvious conclusion here is that אָוֹן is punished by *Causality* whether committed by those who potentially belong to *Self* or those who belong to *Other*.

32.6: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

כִּי נָבָל וְנָבְלָה יִדְבֹּר וְלִבּוֹ יַעֲשֶׂה אָן
לַעֲשׂוֹת חֲנָף וּלְדַבֵּר אֶל־יְהוָה תּוֹעָה
לְהַרְיֵק נַפֶּשׁ רָעֵב וּמִשְׁקָה צָמָא יַחֲסִיר:

For fools speak folly,
and their minds plot iniquity:
to practice ungodliness,
to utter error concerning the LORD,
to leave the craving of the hungry unsatisfied,
and to deprive the thirsty of drink.

CONTEXT: אָן is associated with folly. It leads to ungodliness and error concerning the LORD. Again there is the emphasis on non-social behaviour towards others who are in need. At a slightly more distant level this lexical item is also associated with a form of רָעָה. The main emphasis is on consciously planning the wrong things. There is also a contrast between this negative moral behaviour and being noble or honourable (32.5).
WVI: There is a strong element of deliberately and consciously planning to breach *Relationship* with other people, both in speaking (against *Causality*) and acting (against *Self*).

41.29: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

הֵן כָּל־אֲפֶס מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם
רוּחַ וְתַהוֹ נִסְכֵּיהֶם:

No, they are all a delusion;
their works are nothing;
their images are empty wind.

CONTEXT and OTHER SOURCES: At first sight it seems that in the present context the meaning is different from all previous examples, certainly if we look at the various English versions. The underlying problem is a textual problem. On the basis of similar texts in Isaiah it is possible to assume that the original Hebrew text read אָן instead of אָן (for a detailed discussion, see de Waard, 1997:162-163). If this is indeed the case the text falls outside the realm of this discussion. If not, further analysis is necessary. There is no obvious reason not to translate אָן with an equivalent from the domain of negative moral behaviour. This is exactly the contribution made by this lexical item to the context. The wider context reflects a case against Israel because of its idolatry. So it is well possible that אָן refers to the disastrous consequences of idolatry for the people of Israel. It is quite remarkable that in a similar context in Hosea 12.12(11) the NRSV translates *iniquity*. These two examples (Isa 41.29 and Hosea 12.12) are the only ones cited by Knierim (1997:62) and Holladay (1974:6) to support the idea that *deceit* or *nothingness* can be used as equivalents for אָן. Knierim's reasoning is highly debatable. He notes that "the basic meaning 'power of disaster' occasionally encounters difficulty in translation because of its foreignness to modern ontology. One no longer calls a deed a 'disaster' but a 'misdeed,' 'wrong,' 'crime.'...Because such a phenomenon connotes invalidity,

translation as ‘deception’ or ‘nothing’ ... may occasionally be justified” (1997:62). This kind of subjective reasoning cannot be seen as semantic analysis on the basis of textual evidence. It merely serves to justify a particular translation decision.

WVI: Based on the above analysis this example constitutes a deliberate breach of *Relationship* with *Causality*.

55.7: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

יֵעֹזֵב רָשָׁע דַּרְכּוֹ וְאִישׁ אָן מִחֲשַׁבְתּוֹ	let the wicked forsake their way,
וְיָשָׁב אֶל־יְהוָה וִירַחֲמֵהוּ	and the unrighteous their thoughts;
וְאֶל־אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי־רַבָּה לְסִלּוֹחַ:	let them return to the LORD, that he may have mercy on them,
	and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

CONTEXT: For its combination with רָשָׁע, see 2.4.7. There are good grounds to assume that there is widening of semantic scope in אָן. It is important to note that מִחֲשַׁבְתּוֹ plays an important role in this context, especially in the contrast between people and the LORD. This word can be translated as *thinking* or *reasoning*. In other words, the text refers to those who consciously plan their negative moral behaviour. So the lexical item fits well within the domain of negative moral behaviour in the sense it has been described thus far. In view of this the decision of RSV, NRSV, NASB, and KJV to translate אָן as *unrighteous* is arbitrary. There is no clue in the context to justify this more specific reference to negative moral behaviour. The lexical items are apparently used for their own semantic contribution to the context.

WVI: This is another example illustrating that this kind of behaviour breaches the *Relationship* with *Causality*. The exact nature of the breach is not clear.

58.9: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

אִם־תִּסֹּר מִתּוֹכָךְ מוֹטֵה	If you remove the yoke from among you,
שֶׁלַח אֶצְבֶּע וְדַבֵּר־אָן:	the pointing of the finger, the speaking of evil,

CONTEXT: The following lines clearly put the semantic contents of אָן in the realm of social injustice from the side of the powerful.

WVI: In this case there is a breach in *Relationship* between human beings, *Self-Other*. The mighty deny social justice to the needy.

59.4: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

אִין־קִרָּא בְצֶדֶק וְאִין נִשְׁפָּט בְּאִמּוֹנָה	No one brings suit justly,
בְּטוֹחַ עַל־תְּהוֹ וְדַבֵּר־שָׁוְא	no one goes to law honestly;
הֵרוּ עָמַל וְהוֹלִיד אָן:	they rely on empty pleas, they speak lies,
	conceiving mischief and begetting iniquity.

CONTEXT: There is an obvious lack of justice in this context, a social evil that apparently abounded in society. Another important aspect to be noted is the fact that there is again deliberate planning.

WVI: The breach of *Relationship* is an important factor. This apparently occurs in inter-human relationships (*Self-Other*), in the area of justice.

59.6: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

CONTEXT: See previous verse. In this occurrence the focus is on the result of this kind of negative moral behaviour.

WVI: See previous verse.

59.7: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

רַגְלֵיהֶם לָרַע יָרְצוּ וַיִּמְהָרוּ לְשַׁפֵּךְ דָּם נָקִי	Their feet run to evil,
מַחְשְׁבוֹתֵיהֶם מַחְשְׁבוֹת אָוֶן	and they rush to shed innocent blood;
שֹׁד וְשָׂרָה בְּמַסְלֹתָם:	their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity,
	desolation and destruction are in their highways.

CONTEXT: Not different from the previous examples. The emphasis is on the planning aspect. Again the word *מַחְשְׁבָה* has been used (see 55.7). The shedding of innocent blood and lack of justice are recurring themes.

WVI: See previous examples.

66.3: אָן *Noun, masculine singular*

CONTEXT: There is ample evidence from the context that there is no reference to negative moral behaviour in this case, although it is possible to explain its usage here on the basis of linkage to its most common usage. However, for an analysis of the domain of negative moral behaviour this occurrence is irrelevant.

3.5. רַע

Isa 1.4: מְרַעִים *Verb, hiphil participle, masculine plural*

הוּא גֵוִי חַטָּא עִם כָּבֵד עֹוֹן	Ah, sinful nation,
זֶרַע מְרַעִים בָּנִים מַשְׁחִיתִים	people laden with iniquity,
עֲזָבוּ אֶת־יְהוָה נֹאצִי אֶת־קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל	offspring who do evil,
נִזְרוּ אַחֲזָר:	children who deal corruptly,
	who have forsaken the LORD,
	who have despised the Holy One of Israel,
	who are utterly estranged!

CONTEXT: See 3.1. and 3.2. The assumed chiasitic structure links the colon in which *מְרַעִים* occurs with forsaking and despising the LORD. However, it should be noted that this also applies to the other lexical items that belong to the domain of negative moral behaviour in this verse. The grammatical form of *רַע* (*hiphil*) suggests a more active involvement

of the participants than is the case with the other lexical items (Waltke & O'Connor, 1990:433-436).

WVI: A deliberate attempt to breach the *Relationship* between humanity (*Self– Other*) and *Causality*.

1.16(a): רַע Noun, masculine singular

רַחֲצוּ הַיָּדַיִם הַסִּירוּ רַע מֵעַלְלֵיכֶם	Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean;
מִנֶּגֶד עֵינַי חֲדְלוּ הָרַע:	remove the evil of your doings
	from before my eyes;
	cease to do evil,

CONTEXT: The emphasis in this colon is again on active participation. Furthermore the context makes clear that those involved in these deeds cannot appear before the LORD. They need cleansing; their hands are full of blood. Even if they observe all rules and regulations for maintaining the cult (the right rituals at the right moment), this is not acceptable to the LORD, if they are still morally unclean.

WVI: In order to belong to *Self* one's moral righteousness should be beyond doubt. Otherwise the *Relationship* with *Causality* will not be maintained or restored, even if in terms of *Time* and *Space* the correct rules are observed.

1.16(b): הָרַע Verb, hiphil infinitive construct

CONTEXT: Basically the same as in 1.16(a). In this context there is an explicit contrast between רַע in 1.16 and יָטַב in 1.17. יָטַב is further defined as מְשֻׁפָּט for the poor and needy.

WVI: Apart from the *Causality* dimension, it is clear that the right *Relationship* with others, and particularly the less privileged (oppressed, widow, orphan) are also essential for moral behaviour that is not classified as negative. This is clearly in the realm of *Self-Other*.

3.9: רָעָה adjective, feminine singular

הַכָּרַת פְּנֵיהֶם עֲנִתָהּ בָּם וְחַטָּאתָם כְּסֹדֶם	The look on their faces bears witness against them;
הִגִּידוּ לֹא כִחְדָּו	they proclaim their sin like Sodom,
אִי לְנַפְשָׁם כִּי־גָמְלוּ לָהֶם רָעָה:	they do not hide it.
	Woe to them!
	For they have brought evil on themselves.

CONTEXT: It is clear that רַע here is an act that people can bring on themselves. It seems that רַע is the result of חַטָּא proclaimed by the people of Sodom (see 3.1. under Isaiah

3.9).²⁵ In 3.11 these people are classified as רשע. This is another indication of the close relationships between the various lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour. The contrast of רעע in 3.9 is with טוב which applies to those who are צדיק in 3.10.

WVI: Indirectly רעע is linked with *Causality*. The problem is חטא which breaches the *Relationship*. The effect is רעע. The nature of the breach of *Relationship* is in the area of not administering justice: *Self* and *Other*.

3.11: רע adjective, masculine singular

אוי לרשע רע כִּי־גִמּוּל יָדֵיו יַעֲשֶׂה לּוֹ: Woe to the guilty! How unfortunate they are,
for what their hands have done shall be done to them.

CONTEXT: In this case רעע is usually translated as a consequence of רשע as is the case in many translations (RSV, NRSV, REB, KJV, NASB, NJV, NJB). Following that interpretation, those involved in רשע are also contrasted to those who are צדיק in 3.10. Others put more emphasis on the synonymous relationship of רעע with אוי (NIV, Watts, 1985:39). The latter makes more sense on the basis of the Hebrew text. In both cases רעע results from a behaviour that is not צדיק.

WVI: Similar to the example of 3.9, although in this case the related lexical item is with רשע.

5.20: לרע adjective, masculine singular and רע adjective, masculine singular

הוּי הָאֲמָרִים לָרַע טוֹב וְלַטּוֹב רַע
שָׁמִים חֹשֶׁךְ לָאֹר וְאֹר לַחֹשֶׁךְ
שָׁמִים מֵר לַמָּתוֹק וּמָתוֹק לַמָּר: Ah, you who call evil good
and good evil,
who put darkness for light
and light for darkness,
who put bitter for sweet
and sweet for bitter!

CONTEXT: This verse occurs in a list of many verses starting with הוּי. This is usually an expression of threat (van der Merwe et al., 1999:335) and so it is in this chapter. A number of socially unacceptable behaviours have been listed. All refer to unacceptable behaviour with regard to others who are in a less powerful or wealthy position. This verse summarizes it all. It equates the unacceptable behaviour with רעע and contrasts it with טוב.

²⁵ It is noteworthy that NRSV has not translated רַע as the consequence of חטא, unlike REB and NIV. These versions translate *disaster*. In 3.11 NRSV translates רשע as a result of negative moral behaviour (*the guilty*), unlike REB and NIV who have *wicked*.

WVI: The rather wide spectrum of unacceptable behaviour that is referred to in the context is either directed against other people, or against one's own dignity. In itself it destroys the *Relationship* with people and not directly with *Causality*. The breach of *Relationship* with *Causality* is the ultimate consequence of this behaviour (5.9; 12; 16), but the *Self-Other* variable is more prominent.

7.5: רָעָה *adjective, feminine singular*

יֵעַן כִּי־יַעַץ עָלֶיךָ אָרָם רָעָה אֶפְרַיִם
וּבֶן־רִמְלִיָּהוּ לֵאמֹר

Because Aram—with Ephraim and the son of Remaliah—
has plotted evil against you, saying,

CONTEXT: Isaiah speaks to Ahaz, the king of Judah, about the plan of Aram and Israel to attack Judah and Jerusalem. This planned attack is referred to as רָעָה. This plan would immediately affect the people of Judah and Jerusalem, but the wider context also shows that it goes against the will of the LORD (7.7ff.).

WVI: The main emphasis is on human relationships, albeit on a high political level:
Relationship in the area of *Self-Other*, ultimately affecting *Causality*.

7.15: בָּרַע *adjective, masculine singular*

הַמָּאָה וּדְבַשׁ יֹאכֵל לְדַעְתּוֹ מָאוֹס בָּרַע וּבָחוּר
בְּטוֹב:

He shall eat curds and honey by the time he knows how to
refuse the evil and choose the good.

CONTEXT: Isaiah again speaks to Ahaz. In terms of contrasting lexical items there is a striking similarity with 5.20. The verse is obviously a reference to maturity that enables the son of 7.14 to distinguish between good and evil. The lexical item is used in a very broad sense and there are no clues in the context for further semantic analysis.

WVI: No specific world view variables are in focus.

7.16: בָּרַע *adjective, masculine singular*

כִּי בְטָרָם יָדַע הַנֶּעַר מָאֹס בָּרַע וּבָחוּר בְּטוֹב
תַּעֲזֹב הָאָדָמָה אֲשֶׁר אָתָּה קָץ מִפְּנֵי שְׁנֵי מְלָכֶיהָ:

For before the child knows how to refuse the evil and
choose the good, the land before whose two kings you are
in dread will be deserted.

See previous example.

8.9: רָעוּ *Verb, qal imperative, masculine plural*

There is too much uncertainty about textual issues involving this lexical item to include it as a subject of this semantic analysis (see de Waard, 1997:37-38).

9.16 (17): וַיִּמְרַע *Verb, hiphil participle, masculine singular*

עַל־כֵּן עַל־בְּחורֵיו לֹא־יִשְׁמַח אֲדָנִי
וְאֶת־יְתֻמּוֹ וְאֶת־אַלְמָנָתוֹ לֹא יִרְחַם
כִּי כָל־חָנָף וַיִּמְרַע וְכָל־פֶּה וַיְבָרֶךְ נִבְלָה
בְּכָל־זֹאת לֹא־שָׁב אַפּוֹ וְעוֹד יָדוֹ נְטוּיָה:

That is why the Lord did not have pity on their young people,
or compassion on their orphans and widows;
for everyone was godless and an evildoer,
and every mouth spoke folly.
For all this his anger has not turned away;
His hand is stretched out still.

CONTEXT: This text occurs in the midst of a dispute between the LORD and his people. The main issue is pride and arrogance (9.9) and they refused to seek him (9.12(13)). The leaders were misleading the people (9.15(16)). The immediately related lexical item is חָנָף. For the rest the context is not very explicit about the semantic contents of the lexical items. The only indication that the context provides is that their main problems were in the area of internal relationships (9.18-20(19-21)).

WVI: The *Self-Other* variable is dominant. It affects the *Relationship* with *Causality*.

11.9: יִרְעוּ *Verb, hiphil imperfect, third person masculine plural*

לֹא־יִרְעוּ וְלֹא־יִשְׁחִיתוּ בְּכָל־הָר קִדְשִׁי
כִּי־מְלֵאָה הָאָרֶץ דְּעָה אֶת־יְהוָה
כַּמִּים לַיָּם מְכַסִּים:

They will not hurt or destroy
on all my holy mountain;
for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the LORD
as the waters cover the sea.

CONTEXT: The only two modern translations that translate this lexical item with the gloss *evil* are the NJV and TEV. All others use *harm* or *hurt*. The context talks about a kingdom where justice will reign (11.4), especially in connection with the poor and the meek. In many contexts that were discussed above this is the apparently natural contrast of רָעָה. This is also the case here. There is no obvious reason to deviate from this analysis at this point and to follow an alternative translation as most modern versions do.

WVI: Several of the world view variables play a role here. In the first place it is clear that רָעָה is associated with not administering justice to the less privileged. This has implications for *Space* as well. Those involved with רָעָה cannot be part of the LORD's holy mountain. In other words they shall not belong to *Self* but to *Other*, because this behaviour ultimately affects one's *Relationship* with *Causality*.

13.11: רָעָה *adjective, feminine singular*

וּפָקַדְתִּי עַל־תִּבְלַרְעָה וְעַל־רָשָׁעִים עֲוֹנָם
וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי גִּאּוֹן זֹרִים וְגִאּוֹת עֲרִיצִים אֲשָׁפִיל:

I will punish the world for its evil,
and the wicked for their iniquity;
I will put an end to the pride of the arrogant,
and lay low the insolence of tyrants.

CONTEXT: See 3.2, under Isa 13.11. It is clear that רעע constitutes punishable behaviour. It is connected with pride and arrogance of rulers and as such in this context not sharply distinguished from עון.

WVI: See 3.2, under Isa 13.11.

14.20b: מרעים *Verb, hiphil participle, masculine plural*

לֹא־יִקְרָא לְעוֹלָם זֶרַע מְרַעִים: May the descendants of evildoers
nevermore be named!

See 3.2, under Isa 14.21. Again it is semantically not sharply distinguished from עון.

24.19: רעה *Verb, qal perfect, third person feminine singular*

רָעָה הַתְּרַעָעָה הָאָרֶץ The earth is utterly broken,
פֹּר הַתְּפֹרָרָה אֶרֶץ the earth is torn asunder,
מוֹט הַתְּמוֹטָאָה אֶרֶץ: the earth is violently shaken.

CONTEXT: There is a clear indication in the immediate context that the meaning differs from its most common semantic contents. The parallel structure clearly suggests something that falls apart or heavily trembles. 20a reinforces this analysis. This occurrence is therefore irrelevant for the domain of negative moral behaviour. It falls within a different semantic domain.

OTHER SOURCES: All lexicons treat the lexical item with the above meaning as a homonym (Brown et al. 1951:948; Holladay, 1974:343/4; Koehler & Baumgartner, 2001; Swanson 1997, domain 8318). In Swanson (1997, domain 8318) the lexical item is linked with Louw & Nida (1988:222-227) domain (19.34-19.42), entitled *Break, Break Through*, under the main heading *Physical Impact*.

31.2a: רע *adjective, masculine singular*

וְגַם־הוּא חָכָם וַיָּבֵא רָע וְאֶת־דִּבְרָיו לֹא הִסִּיר
וְקָם עַל־בֵּית מְרַעִים וְעַל־עֲזָרָת פְּעָלֵי אֹנִן: Yet he too is wise and brings disaster;
he does not call back his words,
but will rise against the house of the evildoers,
and against the helpers of those who work iniquity.

CONTEXT: The agent of bringing רע is the LORD. The context does not clearly define the nature of the רע that the LORD will bring. Most modern versions translate *disaster* in this context. A brief survey in the OT shows that when the LORD is the agent the semantic contents is usually some sort of calamity that will befall people as a form of punishment (e.g. Exo 32.14; Deu 32.23; Jer 9.15; Mic 1.12). Although the context is not explicit here, it is advisable to interpret רע in the same way as in these examples. רע should therefore not be seen in this context as a form of negative moral behaviour.

31.2b: מְרַעִים *Verb, hiphil participle, masculine plural*

CONTEXT: See 3.4, Isa 31.2. In this context it is not possible to identify semantic features to define the differences between רַעַע and אָנָן.

32.7: רָעִים *adjective, masculine plural*

<p>וְכָלִי כָלִיו רָעִים הוּא זְמוּת יַעַץ לְחַבֵּל עֲנִיִּים בְּאִמְרֵי־שָׁקֶר וּבְדַבַּר אֲבִיוֹן מִשְׁפָּט</p>	<p>The villainies of villains are evil; they devise wicked devices to ruin the poor with lying words, even when the plea of the needy is right.</p>
---	---

CONTEXT: It is suggested that רַעַע is negative moral behaviour directed against the poor and the needy. Their ruin is the result of רַעַע. In the final colon of the verse it is made clear that רַעַע goes against מִשְׁפָּט. Already from the beginning of the chapter מִשְׁפָּט and צֶדֶק play an important role as contrasting lexical items of רַעַע.

WVI: Providing justice is an important means of ensuring the right *Relationship* with *Self-Other*. רַעַע obstructs this possibility.

33.15: בָּרָע *adjective, masculine singular*

<p>הַלֵּךְ צְדָקוֹת וְדַבֵּר מִיִּשְׁרִים מֵאֵס בְּבָצַע מַעֲשֵׂקוֹת נֶעַר כַּפְּיוֹ מִתְחַמֵּד בְּשַׁחַד אִטָּם אֲזֹנוֹ מִשְׁמַע דָּמִים וְעֵצָם עֵינָיו מִרְאוֹת בָּרָע:</p>	<p>Those who walk righteously and speak uprightly, who despise the gain of oppression, who wave away a bribe instead of accepting it, who stop their ears from hearing of bloodshed and shut their eyes from looking on evil,</p>
--	---

CONTEXT: Similar contrastive lexical items as in the previous example play an important role here, such as צֶדֶק and מִיִּשְׁרִים. In the synonymous realm are oppression, bribe, bloodshed. Given the order in the parallelism it may be concluded that the semantic scope of בָּרָע includes those specific kinds of negative moral behaviour. It is implied (in 33.16) that those involved in בָּרָע will not share in gifts such as protection, security, food and water.

WVI: The focus is again on *Relationship* with *Self-Other*.

41.23: וְתִרְעוּ *Verb, hiphil imperfect, second person masculine plural*

<p>הַגִּידוּ הָאֱתִיּוֹת לְאַחֹר וְנִדְעָה כִּי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם אֶף־תִּיטִיבוּ וְתִרְעוּ וְנִשְׁתַּעֲה וְנִרְאָה יִחְדּוּ:</p>	<p>Tell us what is to come hereafter, that we may know that you are gods; do good, or do harm, that we may be afraid and terrified.</p>
--	---

CONTEXT: This section talks about the uselessness of serving other gods (41.24). The setting is a trial with the gods in which they are challenged. In 41.23 they are asked to do something טוֹב or something רַעַע. From a semantic point of view this is not further

specified, but it seems that this is the regular contrast that exists between these two lexical items which are both of a fairly generic nature.

WVI: In terms of world view little can be observed. It is not clear what *Relationships* if any would be affected. It is most likely not directed against *Causality*, but a general demonstration of power.

45.7: רָע adjective, masculine singular

יוֹצֵר אֹר וּבוֹרָא חֹשֶׁךְ	I form light and create darkness,
עֹשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם וּבוֹרָא רָע	I make weal and create woe;
אֲנִי יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה כָּל-אֵלֶּה:	I the LORD do all these things.

CONTEXT: The LORD portrays himself as the one who has the power to do anything and to use people as mediator, even though they don't know him. To express the magnitude of this power some natural contrasts are mentioned of which the LORD is the author. Among these contrasts is the one between רָע and שְׁלוֹם. Both lexical items are used in a very generic sense and there are no indications in the context for a more detailed semantic analysis, except that a situation in which שְׁלוֹם prevails is characterized by צֶדֶק (45.8). It may therefore be assumed that רָע is a situation in which צֶדֶק is lacking. It is interesting to note that the *Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah* (1Qisa^a – see BHS note) has טוֹב as contrasting lexical item, in line with the present analysis thus far (see Isa 41.23).

WVI: No specific comments can be made at this point, since the context does not provide any clues about the semantic contents of the lexical item, other than a general contrast, both serving the purpose of underlining the power of *Causality*.

47.10: בְּרַעְתִּךָ Noun, feminine singular construct with second person feminine singular suffix

וַתִּבְטַחִי בְּרַעְתִּיךָ אֲמַרְתְּ אֵין רֹאֵי	You felt secure in your wickedness;
חֲכָמְתִּיךָ וְדַעְתִּיךָ הִיא שׁוֹבְבָתְךָ	you said, "No one sees me."
וַתֹּאמְרִי בִלְבָבִי אֲנִי וְאִפְסִי עוֹד:	Your wisdom and your knowledge
	led you astray,
	and you said in your heart,
	"I am, and there is no one besides me."

CONTEXT: The LORD is the speaker in this section and the addressee is Babylon. The LORD accuses Babylon of all kinds of ungodly behaviour. In this particular verse the focus is on sorcery and other unacceptable demonic types of behaviour. This apparently provided Babylon with a sense of security. This behaviour is summarized as רַעָה. It seeks an explanation for life and power outside the LORD.

WVI: The question of *Causality* is central in this verse. The people of Babylon looked for an alternative explanation. This is then called רַעָה.

47.11: רָעָה *adjective, feminine singular*

וּבָא עָלֶיךָ רָעָה לֹא תִדְעִי שְׁחָרָה
וְחָפֵל עָלֶיךָ הוֹה לֹא תוּכְלִי כִפְרָה
וְתָבֵא עָלֶיךָ פְּתָאִם שׁוֹאָה לֹא תִדְעִי:

But evil shall come upon you,
which you cannot charm away;
disaster shall fall upon you,
which you will not be able to ward off;
and ruin shall come on you suddenly,
of which you know nothing.

CONTEXT: The context is basically the same as that of the previous verse, but the usage of the lexical item is markedly different. In 47.10 the Babylonians found security in their רָעָה, in this verse it is something that will come upon them (וּבָא עָלֶיךָ) as a result of it. In other words here it is the consequence of negative moral behaviour, it is not negative moral behaviour itself. In translation it is crucial to make this distinction.

56.2: רַע *adjective, masculine singular*

אֲשֶׁרִי אָנוּשׁ יַעֲשֶׂה זֹאת וּבִן־אָדָם יַחֲזִיק בָּהּ
שָׁמֵר שַׁבָּת מִחֻלּוֹ וְשָׁמֵר יְדוֹ מִמַּעֲשׂוֹת כָּל־רָע:

Happy is the mortal who does this,
the one who holds it fast,
who keeps the sabbath, not profaning it,
and refrains from doing any evil.

CONTEXT: The lexical item רַע is used in a fairly broad and unspecific manner in this verse. It can be argued that this chapter puts everything under the overarching command of מִשְׁפָּט and צַדִּיק in verse 1, but it is also linked with more specific rules such as keeping the sabbath.

WVI: The general semantic contents makes it difficult to connect רַע with specific world view variables. It seems to refer to the entire spectrum of negative moral behaviour.

57.1: הָרָעָה *adjective, feminine singular*

הַצְדִּיקִים אָבְדוּ וְאִין אִישׁ שָׁם עַל־לֵב
וְאִנְשֵׁי־חֶסֶד נֶאֱסָפִים בְּאִין מִבֵּין
כִּי־מִפְּנֵי הָרָעָה נֶאֱסַף הַצְדִּיק:

The righteous perish,
and no one takes it to heart;
the devout are taken away,
while no one understands.
For the righteous are taken away from calamity,

CONTEXT: The interpretation of this verse is not easy and the commentaries and modern versions provide ample witness to this fact. A number of versions translate הָרָעָה as *calamity*, thereby interpreting it as a result of negative moral behaviour and not a form of negative moral behaviour. However, it should be noticed that in the immediate context the usual contrasting lexical items abound: צַדִּיק (2x) and שְׁלוֹם. As such this is no reason for a different interpretation of הָרָעָה, but the wider context makes the case stronger. In the previous chapter (56.9-12) the shortcomings of the leadership of Israel are vividly pictured. As a result the צַדִּיק in 57.1 are suffering. The final colon could then be

translated differently. The צדק are pulled away from the רעה of the rulers, i.e. their negative moral behaviour that goes against the צדק. The final verse of this chapter, 57.21 favours this interpretation.

WVI: The main variables involved are *Relationship* of the rulers with their people, *Self-Other*.

59.7: לרע adjective, masculine singular

<p>רגליהם לרע ירצו וימהרו לשפך דם נקי מחשבותיהם מחשבות און שד ושבר במסלותם:</p>	<p>Their feet run to evil, and they rush to shed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, desolation and destruction are in their highways.</p>
---	--

CONTEXT: The immediate parallel lexical item is *innocent blood*, furthermore *desolation* and *destruction* are part of the context with which רע can be identified. The contrasting lexical items in the next verse are שלום and משפט.

WVI: The focus is on interpersonal *Relationships*. The fact that these are broken find also concrete expression in *shedding innocent blood*. In other words, the *Self-Other* variable is also important.

59.15a: מרע adjective, masculine singular

<p>ותהי האמת נעדרת וסר מרע משתולל</p>	<p>Truth is lacking, and whoever turns from evil is despoiled.</p>
---------------------------------------	---

CONTEXT: Lack of truth is the obvious way of making רע concrete in this environment. Again the contrasting lexical items are משפט and צדק (59.14). This ultimately displeases the LORD (59.15b).

WVI: The variables at stake are *Relationship* in the area of interpersonal communication, *Self-Other*. This will eventually affect one's *Relationship* with *Causality*.

65.12: הרע adjective, masculine singular

<p>ומניתי אתכם לחרב וכלכם לטבח תכרעו יען קראתי ולא עניתם דברתי ולא שמעתם ותעשו הרע בעיני ובאשר לא חפצתי בחרתם:</p>	<p>I will destine you to the sword, and all of you shall bow down to the slaughter; because, when I called, you did not answer, when I spoke, you did not listen, but you did what was evil in my sight, and chose what I did not delight in.</p>
--	--

CONTEXT: The concrete parallel of רע is to do what the LORD does not delight in. What exactly this entails is not explicated in the immediate context. The fact that קרא and דבר are mentioned suggests that the main focus is on not obeying the commands that the LORD has given.

WVI: No exact semantic contents can be established, but it is clear that ultimately the *Relationship* with *Causality* is broken.

65.25: יָרְעוּ *Verb, hiphil imperfect, third person masculine plural*

וְאֵב וְטֹלָה יָרְעוּ כְּאַחַד	The wolf and the lamb shall feed together,
וְאַרְיֵה כִּבְקָר יֹאכַל-תֶּבֶן	the lion shall eat straw like the ox;
וְנָחַשׁ עָפָר לֶחֶמוֹ	but the serpent—its food shall be dust!
לֹא-יָרְעוּ וְלֹא-יִשְׁחִיתוּ בְּכָל-הָהָר קֹדֶשִׁי	They shall not hurt or destroy
אָמַר יְהוָה:	on all my holy mountain,
	says the LORD.

See this Section, Isa 11.9.

66.4: הָרַע *adjective, masculine singular*

גַּם-אֲנִי אֶבְחַר בְּתַעֲלָלֵיהֶם וּמִגִּוְרָתָם אָבִיא לָהֶם	I also will choose to mock them,
יַעַן קָרָאתִי וְאֵין עֹנֶה דְּבַרְתִּי וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ	and bring upon them what they fear;
וַיַּעֲשׂוּ הָרַע בְּעֵינַי וּבְאֶשֶׁר לֹא-חֲפַצְתִּי בָּהֶרֶץ:	because, when I called, no one answered,
	when I spoke, they did not listen;
	but they did what was evil in my sight,
	and chose what did not please me.

See this Section, Isa 65.12.

3.6. רָשָׁע

Isa 3.11: לְרָשָׁע *adjective, masculine singular*

אֹי לְרָשָׁע רָע כִּי-נִמְוָל יָדָיו יַעֲשֶׂה לּוֹ:	Woe to the guilty! How unfortunate they are,
	for what their hands have done shall be done to them.

CONTEXT: See Section 3.5 of this chapter. The רָשָׁע are parallel to those mentioned in 3.9.

The text also pronounces חַטָּא to them. They are the ones who don't hide their חַטָּא. In 3.12 their behaviour is described as oppressive and misleading.

OTHER SOURCES: As is the case with רָע (see 3.5, under 3.11) not all modern versions do agree on the translation of this lexical item. NRSV forms the exception and translates *guilty*. The context provides no justification for this decision. Colon b promises the punishment they will receive for their unacceptable behaviour. The NRSV translation is a consequence of their decision to translate צַדִּיק as *innocent*.

WVI: Involvement in oppression is in the area of *Relationship* affecting *Self-Other*.

5.23: רָשָׁע *adjective, masculine singular*

מַצְדִּיקֵי רָשָׁע עֵקֶב שֹׁחַד	who acquit the guilty for a bribe,
וְצַדִּיקֵי צַדִּיקִים יִסְרוּ מִמֶּנּוּ:	and deprive the innocent of their rights!

CONTEXT: The context has largely been described in Sections 3.1 and 3.5 of this chapter.

Unjust behaviour of leadership is the negative moral behaviour that is described. This type of behaviour is sharply contrasted with צַדִּיק. It is obvious from the context that רָשָׁע is a kind of behaviour that requires negative judgement in court. Since there is no

further specification it must be assumed that this is a fairly generic sense. Whether this should be translated as *wicked* (KJV, NASB) or *guilty* (RSV, NRSV, NJB, NIV, REB, TEV) is hard to decide on the basis of the data that are provided. Since the immediate context suggests a court case *guilty* is acceptable as a gloss in this case. However, it should be noted that the same antonym as in 11.4 is used. There too the environment is judicial and yet all versions prefer *wicked* as the translation equivalent.

WVI: It is difficult to identify the exact world view variables that are involved here, since the text provides no clues.

9.17 (18): רָשָׁעָה *Noun, feminine singular*

<p>כִּי־בָעֲרָה כָּאֵשׁ רָשָׁעָה שְׁמִיר וְשִׁית תֹּאכֹל וְחִצָּת בְּסִבְכֵי הַיַּעַר וַיִּתְאַבְּכוּ גְאוֹת עָשָׁן:</p>	<p>For wickedness burned like a fire, consuming briars and thorns; it kindled the thickets of the forest, and they swirled upward in a column of smoke.</p>
--	---

CONTEXT: See also Section 3.5 of this chapter, under Isa 9.16(17). The kind of רָשָׁעָה the text talks about is described as the people of the various tribes devouring their own kind (9.19-20(20-21)) in a civil war.

WVI: The *Self-Other* variable is affected by this negative moral behaviour. *Relationship* in that area is not well maintained.

11.4: רָשָׁע *adjective, masculine singular*

<p>וְשָׁפַט בְּצֶדֶק דָּלִים וְהוֹכִיחַ בְּמִשְׁוֹר לְעִנְי־אָרֶץ וְהָכָה־אָרֶץ בְּשִׁבְט פִּיו וּבְרוּחַ שְׁפָתָיו יָמִית רָשָׁע:</p>	<p>but with righteousness he shall judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the earth; he shall strike the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he shall kill the wicked.</p>
--	---

CONTEXT: The lexical item occurs in a context that pictures a situation of righteousness and equity, especially for the poor and needy. It pictures punishment for those who oppose this situation. These are called the רָשָׁע. They stand in opposition to the צַדִּיק. They apparently deny righteousness and equity to the poor and the needy.²⁶

WVI: Maintaining *Relationship* with *Self-Other* implies justice for the needy. Denial of this is negative moral behaviour.

13.11: רָשָׁעִים *adjective, masculine plural*

<p>וּפְקֹדֶתִי עַל־תִּבְלַת רָעָה וְעַל־רָשָׁעִים עֲוֹנָם וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי גָאוֹן וְדִים וְגְאוֹת עֲרִיצִים אֲשַׁפִּיל:</p>	<p>I will punish the world for its evil, and the wicked for their iniquity; I will put an end to the pride of the arrogant, and lay low the insolence of tyrants.</p>
---	---

²⁶ BHS suggests in a footnote that the parallel of רָשָׁע could be עָרִץ on the basis of emendation. From a perspective of semantic analysis this looks attractive, but the textual and interpretational basis for such a decision is not convincing (De Waard, 1997:54-55).

CONTEXT: See Sections 3.1 (under Isa 13.9), 3.2 and 3.5 (under Isa 13.11) of this chapter for a general description of the context. רשע is directly parallel to חבל. It should be viewed as a more precise definition of those ones who will be punished. It is an indication that this punishment for רעה and עון is not limited to God's own people only. It goes beyond the traditional limited view of the people.

WVI: The variables of *Self-Other* and *Space* are relevant at this point. Both limited scopes are extended in terms of jurisdiction of *Causality*.

14.5: רשעים *adjective, masculine plural*

שבר יהוה מטה רשעים שבט מושלים: The LORD has broken the staff of the wicked,
the scepter of rulers,

CONTEXT: See also Section 3.2. (under Isa 14.21) of this chapter. In this specific case the nature of רשע is clear. It refers to unjust rulers.

WVI: Similar as in previous examples the main problem of this kind of negative moral behaviour is in the area of *Self-Other*.

26.10: רשע *adjective, masculine singular*

יחן רשע בל-למד צדק If favor is shown to the wicked,
they do not learn righteousness;
בארץ נכחות יעיל ובל-יראה גאות יהוה: in the land of uprightness they deal perversely
and do not see the majesty of the LORD

CONTEXT: The main characteristic of the רשע is their lack of צדק. They, the רשע, deal perversely and do not see the majesty of the LORD.

WVI: Correct *Relationship* with *Self-Other* is crucial in order to create a right *relationship* with *Causality*.

48.22: לרשעים *adjective, masculine plural*

אין שלום אמר יהוה לרשעים: "There is no peace," says the LORD, "for the wicked."

CONTEXT: This chapter follows the one on the downfall of Babylon (Isa 47). After a lengthy dispute (48.1-19) the people are called upon to leave Babylon (48.20). This is expressed as a song. Verse 22 is the conclusion to this song. The רשע are not going to share in the joy and salvation. They will not participate in the שלום that will be provided. The (con)text does not exactly identify who the רשע are and what they have done. The best indication is probably given in 48.18: O that you had paid attention to my commandments!

WVI: The contrast with שלום suggests that there is a total breakdown in *Relationships* at all levels.

50.9: יִרְשִׁיעֵנִי *Verb, hiphil imperfect, third person masculine singular with first person common singular suffix*

הֵן אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה יַעֲזֹר־לִי מִיְּהוָה יִרְשִׁיעֵנִי	It is the Lord GOD who helps me;
הֵן כָּלֶם כִּבְגָד יִבְלוּ עָשׂ יֹאכְלֶם:	who will declare me guilty?
	All of them will wear out like a garment;
	the moth will eat them up.

CONTEXT: The speaker puts his trust in the LORD and expects all help from him (50.7). It is important to note that רָשַׁע, even though it occurs in the *hiphil* is contrasted with צָדִיק, also in *hiphil*. In English translations of this Hebrew form it is hard to discover the connections with other forms of רָשַׁע that the lexical item clearly has. Behaviour associated with רָשַׁע is unacceptable. Someone who has been *declared guilty*, as most translations have it, is someone who portrays 'רָשַׁע behaviour'. No further indications of the semantic contents of this lexical item can be observed in the context.

WVI: There is no clear indication of the area in which רָשַׁע has a negative impact.

53.9: רָשָׁעִים *adjective, masculine plural*

וַיַּתֵּן אֶת־רָשָׁעִים קִבְרוֹ וְאֶת־עֲשִׂיר בְּמֹתָיו	They made his grave with the wicked
עַל לֹא־חָמָס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מְרֹמָה בִּפְּיוֹ:	and his tomb with the rich,
	although he had done no violence,
	and there was no deceit in his mouth.

CONTEXT: This verse occurs in the section that discusses the servant (Isa 52.13ff.). Contra to expectation he was buried with the רָשָׁעִים. But the fact that this lexical item is in synonymous parallelism with *the rich* makes it difficult to draw any conclusions with regard to semantic content. Unless it refers to those who enrich themselves at the expense of others.²⁷ The second half of the verse gives some indication. *Non-violence* and *no-deceit* are obviously associated with the רָשָׁעִים.

WVI: Maintaining proper *Relationships* with *Self-Other* is a way to avoid negative moral behaviour that is called רָשַׁע.

54.17: תִּרְשִׁיעֵי *Verb, hiphil imperfect, second person feminine singular*

כָּל־כֶּלִי יוֹצֵר עָלֶיךָ לֹא יִצְלָח	No weapon that is fashioned against you shall prosper,
וְכָל־לָשׁוֹן תִּקְוֶה־אֶתְךָ לְמִשְׁפַּט תִּרְשִׁיעֵי	And you shall confute every tongue that rises against
זֹאת נַחֲלַת עַבְדֵי יְהוָה	you in judgment.
וְצִדְקָתָם מֵאֵתִי יֵאָמֵר יְהוָה:	This is the heritage of the servants of the LORD
	and their vindication from me, says the LORD.

²⁷ Several proposals for textual emendation have been made (Beuken, 1983:225/6), but none that draws wide support from texts, old versions, or commentaries. This makes the basis for semantic analysis even weaker.

רָשָׁע is often used in contrast with צָדִיק figurative use should definitely be considered in this context.

WVI: Central issue is the breach of *Relationship* with *Self-Other* and thereby ultimately going against *Causality*.

58.6: רָשָׁע *Noun, masculine singular*

הֲלוֹא זֶה צוֹם אֲבָחֶרְהוּ פֶּתַח חֲרָצֹבוֹת רָשָׁע הִתֵּר אֲגִדּוֹת מוֹטֶה וְשִׁלַּח רְצוּצִים חֲפָשִׁים וְכָל-מוֹטֶה תִּנְתְּקוּ:	Is not this the fast that I choose: to loose the bonds of injustice, to undo the thongs of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke?
--	---

CONTEXT: The previous example gives a good introduction to the analysis of this one. רָשָׁע is seen as bonds, as oppression and its chains should be removed. The fast that the LORD wants is exactly opposite to what people practice (in 58.4). The people maintain oppression and continue to serve their own interests. The LORD wants them to liberate the oppressed and share what they have with the poor and the needy.²⁸

WVI: Identical to previous example. True fasting means maintaining a proper *Relationship* with *Self-Other*, thereby fulfilling the will of *Causality*.

4. Conclusions

In Section 3 it was stated that in a concluding section the results of all analyses will be pulled together to a coherent whole. After the extensive analysis of the occurrence of the lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour in parallelism and the detailed analysis of each individual occurrence, it is clear that it is not an easy task to pull everything together to “a coherent whole.” Each of the analyses has produced results at different levels of semantic relevance. None can be excluded without losing an important aspect of its contribution to the semantic content of the specific lexical item within the domain of negative moral behaviour. To find one specific representational format in which all relevant aspects of the analysis can be reflected is not possible and probably also not desirable. In lexical semantics there has too often been a tendency to be comprehensive in semantic description by reducing the number of variables that are included, thereby reducing the significance of the semantic description, especially for translation. Essential semantic data are omitted or rendered irrelevant by the type of representation chosen by the lexicographer. The final chapter of this study will discuss this point in more detail. At this

²⁸ It is important to show the connection between 59.4 and 59.6 in the translation of רָשָׁע, so that the coherence of the text is clear to the reader. This has not been done in NRSV and NIV. The reason for not doing so remains unclear.

juncture I would like to suggest that the various elements of the analysis should be evaluated on their own merit and be applied on the basis of their practical application in a given context.

The tension of this task has been well described by Geeraerts (1995:24).

Definitions of lexical items should be maximally general in the sense that they should cover as large a subset of the extension of an item as possible... On the other hand, definitions should be minimally specific in the sense that they should be sufficient to distinguish the item from other non-synonymous items.

It is between these two poles that a way has to be found to produce a semantic description that clearly marks the issues that matter for the user.

4.1. Theoretical considerations

It is important to note that with regard to lexical variation Geeraerts et al. (1994:3-5) make a distinction between semasiology and onomasiology.

The semasiological perspective takes its starting point in the word as a form, and describes what semantic values (as dependent variable) the word (as independent variable) may receive. The onomasiological perspective takes its starting point on the level of semantic values and describes how a particular semantic value (as independent variable) may be variously expressed by means of different words (as dependent variables).

In order to attain a full semantic description both perspectives have to be considered, certainly if the analysis is to be relevant for the purpose of translation and cross-cultural communication in general. It is highly unlikely, if not impossible, that any receptor language in cross-cultural communication contains lexical items that are semantically fully equivalent to those of the source language in all aspects of semantic and pragmatic significance (Louw, 1991:128). This has been clearly demonstrated by the preceding analyses, especially when supported by the critique of the translation of the lexical items in some English versions of the Bible.

The analysis of the lexical items as they occur in parallelism only resulted in a relational representation, delineating the relationship between the various lexical items when they are combined in a parallel structure. However, this kind of analysis does not reveal much about the semantic contents of the lexical items. The analysis of world view variables in combination with contextual semantic aspects looked at the broader semantic domain of negative moral behaviour, not only trying to identify the position of each of the lexical items in this domain, but also trying to identify the semantic contribution of each of the lexical items to the context in which they were used. These two different types of analysis could be labeled a paradigmatic and a syntagmatic

analysis respectively. This distinction is important when it comes to semantic analysis. Louw (1991:137) makes another useful distinction in this respect. He states that

proper semantic analysis requires a distinction between lexical meaning and contextual meaning. That is, between what a word in itself, on its own, contributes to the understanding of an utterance (lexical meaning) and what features of meaning, derived from the context, enable one to define the event more precisely by adding particular contextual features. This implies that contextual meaning is restricted to a particular instance, while lexical meaning is that meaning one can apply in all contexts by referring to what the word contributes, or represents for that matter.

A proper semantic description needs to reflect both the lexical and the contextual aspects. In the paragraphs that follow an attempt will be made to include this distinction. From a cognitive perspective though, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that an isolated description of lexical items (even if it includes the distinction *lexical* vs. *contextual*) is not sufficient in semantic analysis. Lexical items are normally part of a larger cognitive structure. They “can only be comprehended [...] in a context of presupposed, background knowledge structures” (Clausner & Croft, 1999:2). This is what cognitive semanticists call *domain*. This embodies the same approach as chosen in this study. In these knowledge structures, or domains, all lexical items belonging to that particular domain play their own role. In other words, a proper semantic analysis and description cannot be done if lexical items are treated in isolation from other lexical items within the same domain. This is the kind of coherence that I have tried to implement in this analysis, in contrast with the usual approach of current lexicons, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Finally, it is interesting to note that Geeraerts (1995:32) considers componential analysis, in combination with other approaches, as a valid method of semantic analysis in both areas of semasiology and onomasiology. He observes that

As an overall representation of semasiological data, however, Cognitive Semantics has tended to avoid componential analysis... The basic reason seems to be that a componential analysis, describing various readings in isolation, tends to obscure the structural relations among those word meanings. Specifically, the prototype-based differences of salience (or structural weight) that are crucial to Cognitive Semantics are not automatically incorporated into a componential representation (Geeraerts, 1995:33).

The main problem with CA according to the above statement is the assumption that it is carried out “in isolation.” If that would be the case, it would indeed have “an obscuring effect.” However, it seems that the problem is one of methodology, not one of principle. As I stated already in Chapter 2, applying componential analysis of meaning purely as a heuristic tool, and not as an exponent of a certain linguistic theory, avoids unnecessary complications and, more seriously, misinterpretations. The tool is flexible enough to allow it to be used heuristically and to enable

the researcher to apply various methods of analysis as well as a broad variety of representational formats.

In the following paragraphs I want to give a brief summary of the preceding semantic analyses and offer a framework for semantic representation that is applicable in cross-cultural communication.

4.2. Summary

It is clear that the last analysis, as carried out in Section 3 of this chapter adds elements to the semantic description of the lexical items that have thus far not been considered. Particularly the focus on world view variables as components of semantic description adds an aspect to the analysis that is able to complement the different types of analysis that have been carried out earlier in this chapter. This is true in spite of the fact that I notice that the identification of world view variables on the basis of an ancient written text only is a complicated matter. In this final paragraph I summarize the results of the last analysis and evaluate the impact of a combination of approaches in componential analysis of meaning.

4.2.1. World view variables

Figure 20 provides a summary overview of the results of the analysis of Section 3. The figures that are used in the various categories express the degree of connection of the respective lexical items to that particular world view variable on a scale of increasing intensity of 1—10. This scale of intensity reflects the degree in which a particular world view variable is significant in the semantic description of a particular lexical item. The degree to which this is the case is based on the facts that are mentioned under the world view analyses in Section 3 of this chapter.

Lexical items	Causality	Self/ Other	Time	Space	Level of abstraction
חטא	10	4	3	3	9
עון	10	4	1	6	6
פשע	10	1	0	2	2
און	7	10	1	1	4
רעע	7	10	1	2	1
רשע	2	10	0	1	2

Figure 20: Summary of world view aspects in semantic analysis

Since the semantic description is based on the world view analysis of the book of Isaiah (see Chapter 4), it is clear that not all variables as they had been identified by Kearney (1984) need to

play a major role in the semantic analysis. As was already stated in Chapter 2, Section 4.2., the criteria on which the analysis is based should always be derived from the language—and here I add: the culture and the world view—that is subject of the analysis. In other cultures it may be necessary to include other variables and exclude some of the variables that play a prominent role in the present analysis.

In order to make certain distinctions between the lexical items clear I have introduced the category *Level of abstraction*. It refers to the degree to which a particular lexical item refers to a specific type of negative moral behaviour. The higher the degree of abstraction the more generic the lexical item is used. The *level of abstraction* is not a world view variable. It is introduced at this point because in this analysis there is a clear relationship between the prominence of certain world view variables in the semantic contents of a lexical items and the level of abstraction.

On the basis of the analysis in Section 3 and the summary in Figure 20 the following observations should be noted:

1. The existence of two sub-domains is confirmed by the analysis in terms of world view variables. In Section 2.3.2. the existence of the two sub-domains in the domain of negative moral behaviour was tentatively assumed. At that point in the analysis the basis of the assumption was the pattern of synonymous and antonymous relationship between the various lexical items. An explanation for this phenomenon was missing. The preceding analysis (in Section 3) makes clear what the background is of this distinction. The lexical items belonging to sub-domain A, נִשְׁחָד, עָוֹן and פֶּשַׁע, are without exception explicitly (but not exclusively) related to *Causality*. The lexical items belonging to sub-domain B, אֶצֶל, רָעָה and רָשָׁע, do not necessarily have this explicit relationship with *Causality*. In sub-domain B the relationship with the *Self-Other* variable is essential.
2. The role of the other world view variables is clearly less prominent and of a lower distinctive value. This fully confirms one of the conclusions in Chapter 4, Section 3.5, where on the basis of the world view analysis of the book of Isaiah the conclusion was that “the nature and substance of some of the variables in the book of Isaiah differ so much internally that they do not easily fit within one mold with all other variables on an equal footing.” From the semantic analysis it is clear that the distinctive value of the variables *Time* and *Space* is far less significant in this analysis. In other words, the conclusions of the world view analysis and this semantic analysis confirm and reinforce each other.
3. In Section 2.3.2. the question was raised about the fairly exceptional position of פֶּשַׁע within the domain. It has strong links within sub-domain A, but there are no links with

sub-domain B, neither does it have any obvious antonymous semantic relationships. This exceptional position can now be explained. The combination of a strong explicit relationship with *Causality* and a remarkably low level of abstraction puts the lexical item in an extraordinary position. Furthermore within its own sub-domain the lexical item is low in terms of *Time* connection and high with regard to the *Space* variable. The combination of these characteristics makes this lexical item rather incomparable and therefore difficult to link with other lexical items in sub-domain B. At the same time this combination of relationships with the different world view variables makes it also easily distinguishable from the other two lexical items in sub-domain A.

4. Similar questions were raised in Section 2.3.2. about רשע. In this case the analysis with regard to world view variables does not offer a clear explanation. Another issue needs to be considered. As is the case with the other lexical items in sub-domain B this lexical item has a low level of abstraction, or alternatively, the lexical item refers to explicit and concrete forms of negative moral behaviour. If the analysis is considered carefully it appears that the concrete forms of negative moral behaviour connected with this lexical items are all focusing on one issue: lack of justice. This explains why צדק and שלום are the only antonyms. The variety of antonyms in the case of רעע is much higher, while און has a much broader variety in terms of synonyms.
5. Based on the observations of the previous point a hierarchy of sub-domain B can be developed in terms of reference to the number of specific kinds of negative moral behaviour. The continuum in terms of increasing reference to different explicit forms of negative moral behaviour is as follows: רשע → און → רעע. The range of specific applicability of the lexical items (i.e. to exactly what kind of negative moral behaviour does a lexical item refer in a given context?) appears to be the most important distinctive feature in sub-domain B. At face value the above continuum contradicts Figures 17, 18, and 19 in Section 2.5. of this chapter. At that point רעע was analyzed as the most specific of the lexical items, while in the analysis of Section 3.5. it appears that the number of explicit forms of negative moral behaviour to which רעע refers is higher than that of any of the other lexical items. This seems to suggest the highly generic character of רעע. However, it should be noted that the occurrence of a high number of explicit forms of negative moral behaviour does not make the semantic range of the lexical item more generic. This fact clearly shows that it can only be used in an environment where the more specific meaning is clear and can be derived from the immediate context.

Moreover, the analysis in Section 3.5., as summarized in Figure 20, shows that רעע has the lowest level of abstraction, so the semantic contents of the word demands explicitness from the context.

6. Another question that remains to be answered was raised in Section 2.5. At that point it was not clear why in certain parallelisms the lexical item נמנ was missing, particularly in Isa 13.11; 14.20-21 and 59.12^b. The answer is fairly simple. In all cases the combination would have been with lexical items that score rather low on the scale of level of abstraction, so נמנ would not suit the context.
7. In Section 2.5. under point 5 in the discussion of Figure 19 it was noted that “the tension that exists between נמנ and רעע [remains] unresolved. Although both lexical items seem to play a central role in the domain (see Figure 15) it seems that the roles are substantially different. The exact nature of the different roles has not yet become clear.” The preceding world view analysis makes clear where the main differences are. They mainly concern a different focus of the negative moral behaviour. In the case of נמנ this is *Causality* with a high level of generic applicability. In the case of רעע the main focus is *Self-Other*, while it has a very low level of abstraction and hence a very broad spectrum of specific applicability.

4.2.2. CA and conceptual semantics

In the final chapter of this study I will give a general evaluation of the issues raised in Chapter 2, Section 4, which provided the theoretical foundation to the application of CA as a tool in the comparative semantic analysis of lexical items. At this point I want to link the preceding analysis to one issue raised in the same chapter with regard to the application of CA, since it can be specifically linked to the analysis of the role of world view variables in the semantic contents of the lexical items.

It has already become clear that the present approach is quite different from the traditional semantic feature analysis that has always been the focus of much criticism. The combination of approaches, based on the specific needs of the particular situation provides data that are relevant for the researcher. In this respect it is useful to look again at Jackendoff (1983:121) and his *conceptual semantics*, as this was discussed in Chapter 2, Section 3.1. He identified the need for three sorts of conditions in semantic analysis, rather than working on a finite set of semantic/conceptual primitives. The first of these are the *necessary* conditions. In the present analysis this would be the type of behaviour that is negative in the perception of the users of the language. Secondly, he identifies *centrality* conditions. These specify a focal or central value for

a continuously variable attribute. In the present analysis this depends on the sub-domain. In sub-domain A *Causality* is the obvious centrality condition. In sub-domain B this is *Self-Other*. Thirdly Jackendoff distinguishes *typicality* conditions. In both sub-domains this refers to the variables that are not identified as centrality condition. They show a varying degree of significance as has been spelled out in Figure 20.

An important question to be considered, certainly from the perspective of translation and cross-cultural communication is the degree to which the information of the preceding analyses can be communicated to the participants in the communication process, particularly translators and those producing helps for translators. An investigation of existing lexicons will shed some light on this question. It is to this that we now turn in the following chapter, after which (in a final chapter) we will evaluate the findings of the analyses in the light of the theoretical framework that was developed in Chapters 1 and 2.

Chapter 6

HEBREW LEXICONS AND WORLD VIEW

1. Introduction

A great deal of the discussions in the area of lexicography focuses on the question about the degree to which extra-linguistic, or non-linguistic knowledge should be incorporated in the dictionary, and even before that, if the distinction between linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge is relevant at all (Peeters, 2000:1-52). This discussion is particularly important with regard to the relevance of lexicons for the task of cross-cultural communication.

Gouws (1989:186) calls this extra-linguistic knowledge *encyclopedic* information (see Chapter 3, Section 2.3.4.3.). Gouws' attitude towards the inclusion of encyclopedic knowledge in the dictionary is rather skeptical. He agrees that "a certain degree of encyclopedic information is inevitable" (186), but he strongly recommends that the lexicographer should "only be led by developments in theoretical semantics and especially by the description of word meanings in terms of semantic components" (189). The assumption is obviously that cultural information is extra-linguistic and therefore not part of semantic components that are relevant for lexicographic purposes. He explicitly states that such an approach prevents "the elevation of encyclopedic characteristics to semantic components" (189). The analysis in Chapter 5 has clearly demonstrated that these, what Gouws calls encyclopedic, elements cannot be separated from other semantic features if the aim is to reach a full semantic description of lexical items.

In Chapter 5, Section 4.1. it was noted that Louw (1991:137) makes a different distinction. He differentiates between *lexical* and *contextual* meaning. The first one being the contribution of a word in itself and the latter the elements derived from the context, normally labeled *usage*. At this point it should be observed that this distinction is helpful to the extent that it does not isolate lexical items in the process of semantic analysis, but at the same time it does not necessarily open up opportunities to link the semantic contents to the wider framework of the culture and world view in which lexical items are embedded and to which they give expression.

Other semanticists consciously try to ignore or exclude the aspect of encyclopedic information altogether. Cruse states that

...the meaning of a linguistic expression is taken to arise from the fact that the latter gives access to a particular conceptual content. This may be of indeterminate extent: no distinction is made between linguistic meaning and encyclopaedic knowledge (2000:14).

Considering this statement positively it could mean that encyclopedic knowledge is an integrated part of semantic description, which I think it should be. However, in the case of Cruse it seems that a conscious attempt is made to exclude it entirely from semantic analysis, because at another point in his book Cruse answers the question how to exclude extra-linguistic meaning. "One way is to stipulate that linguistic meaning must either be conventionally associated with the linguistic forms used, or be inferable from the latter in conjunction with contextual knowledge" (2000:12). The crucial point is of course the definition of "contextual knowledge". For Cruse this is embedded in language (2000:43) and other aspects outside the reality of the text are not mentioned. The issue of what he calls elsewhere "contextual relations (1986:16)" is indeed crucial as we saw in the analysis of Chapter 5, but without what Wendland & Nida term "the context of communication (1985:4-5)" it would not have been possible to reach a full semantic description of the lexical items that are subject of this study. On the other hand, it is also clear that the encyclopedic information should have a functional role in semantic description. As Svensén says, "encyclopedic information which does not relate to culture-specific matters and is not needed to discriminate meanings should in principle not appear in bilingual dictionaries" (1993:166). A careful balance is needed.

Similarly, listings of glosses, which is what we often find in today's dictionaries and lexicons, are equally non-functional for the user, especially in Bible translation where big gaps in time, world view and culture have to be bridged. Snell-Hornby expresses this as follows,

the basic guiding factor for bilingual lexicography should not be presupposed equivalence, implying the existence of readily insertable lexical items, but rather the more sceptical principle of *varying interlingual relationships*, the simplest relationship existing at the level of terminology and nomenclature, and the most complex being conditioned by the "dynamic" factors of sociocultural norm, perception and evaluation, with varying stages of gradation in between (1990:210).

The preceding analysis of lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah is a good illustration of this point. Without the so-called encyclopedic knowledge, in the analysis expressed as world view variables, it would not have been sufficiently possible to express the meaning. What does this mean for lexicography, particularly in view of Snell-Hornby's principle of *varying interlingual relationships*? And how do we define encyclopedic knowledge exactly? These questions need to be addressed.

In order to have a more accurate picture of what exactly is meant I suggest defining encyclopedic knowledge as knowledge that enables the reader to understand the wider cultural and historical

background of a lexical item. The need for such information increases when the distance between the source and receptor cultures increases terms of world view, time, and social circumstances. This issue is most relevant for lexicons that are written for biblical languages, especially those that are intended for Bible translation, where the historical and cultural distance that has to be bridged is significant. In the field of cross-cultural communication the amount of “extra-linguistic” information that needs to be included in the communication event is always subject to debate, as was already noted.

One of the objections against the inclusion of extra-linguistic information is that it opens the lexicon up for the subjectivity of the lexicographer. This danger is real, but the risk should not be considered bigger than in any other issue involved in lexicography. Theelen (1999:195) rightly says that “the lexicon of language in general, and thus the lexicon of a specific natural language, is a reflection of the way how human beings categorise the world around them.” In other words, any form of categorizing information has a degree of subjectivity or rather, cultural specificity. Linguistic categories too are the product of categorization that takes place in the human mind and so is the measuring of the need for inclusion of extra-linguistic information in order to bridge that gap in time, culture and world view between different languages.

In the following paragraphs I want to evaluate some existing (and one proposed) Hebrew lexicons from the perspective of cross-cultural communication in which the need exists to bridge gaps of language, history, culture and world view. After the evaluation I will make some suggestions for Hebrew lexicography.

2. Hebrew lexicons

For the brief evaluation of the lexicons I have chosen two of the more traditional lexicons as well as two of the more recent lexicons. Among the traditional lexicons are Brown, Driver & Briggs (1951, original date of publication – 1906. [BDB]), and Koehler & Baumgartner (2001, original date of publication in German – 1953. [KB]). The more modern ones are Jenni & Westermann (1997; German edition 1971. [JW]), and VanGemeren (2001, original date of publication – 1996. [VG]). Finally I will also pay attention to a newly proposed dictionary of biblical Hebrew based on semantic domains. The theoretical foundation of this dictionary has been developed by de Blois (2000. [DB]).

2.1. Brown, Driver & Briggs

2.1.1. Introduction

The BDB lexicon is based on the work of “the father of modern Hebrew lexicography (v)” Wilhelm Gesenius. BDB provides an alphabetical listing of all Hebrew roots. Words derived from those roots are not listed separately but should be looked for under the root from which they are derived. The main reason for producing the lexicon is that since Gesenius “the language and the text of the Old Testament have been subjected to a minute and searching inquiry before unknown” (v). Special attention was paid to cognate languages which “have contributed to a far more comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the Hebrew vocabulary in its sources and its usage than was possible forty or fifty years ago” (v). The lexicon also makes a point of determining “the actual uses of words by detailed examination of every passage” (vi). The fact that, at least in the preface, the lexicon pays attention to usage is remarkable at that point in time, but it does not withhold the authors from practicing a strong etymological bias in their descriptions. Exclusion of etymology would “deprive the student of all knowledge as to the extra-Biblical history” (vi). This is the closest the lexicon gets to referring to the culture in which the lexical items are used. When reference is made to usage of words, culture is certainly not a main concern, only linguistics is.

There is no clear distinction in the lexicon between meanings and usages of a lexical item. All are treated at the same level and different usages are presented with the same degree of significance as different meanings. This observation confirms the findings of de Regt (1997:65) who concludes in an article about *zera* ‘ that BDB tends “to confuse different meanings with different usages of a meaning in particular contexts.”

The lexicon provides a wealth of information. It provides extensive listings of references. However, the references to lexical items that belong to the same semantic domain are erratic. Under the entry for עָנָה there is reference to חַטָּאת (731) in Isa 59.2, while more examples could have been cited. However, under the entry for חַטָּאת a similar link to עָנָה is missing, while Isa 59.2 is listed among the references (309).

The lexicon lists the various glosses in English. There is no description or definition of the semantic contents of the lexical items. Much attention is paid to grammatical issues and the exact verb stem (with lists of its possible glosses), but there are no indications about a possible connection between context and semantic contents, neither is there an indication of relevant cultural information that can assist the translator to assess how and where the information fits

within the world view of the source language. There are therefore also no means for assessing the significance of relevant issues in the area of world view for the receptor language.

2.1.2. A brief overview of the lexical items in BDB

In this paragraph I give a brief summary of the descriptions/glosses that occur in the lexicon with regard to the lexical items referring to negative behaviour with some evaluative comments with regard to aspects that are particularly relevant to the present study.

1. **חטא** - miss (a goal or way), go wrong, sin (306). The lexicon notes a distinction between *sin against man* (with no examples from Isa) and *sin against God* (Isa 43.27;64.4). It is not clear why only these examples have been recorded. The analysis in Chapter 5, Section 3.1. has demonstrated that a broken relationship with *Causality* is the main characteristic of this lexical item in all contexts in the book of Isaiah.
2. **עון** - iniquity, guilt, or punishment of iniquity (730). The lexicon notes that it is not easy to distinguish meaning 2 from 1 (731), but gives no clues to assist the reader in making the distinction, which seems to be a rather vital one from the perspective of the lexicon. The analysis of Chapter 5, Section 3.2. has made clear that this distinction is questionable for occurrences of this lexical item in the book of Isaiah.
3. **פשע** - rebel, transgress (833). A distinction is made between (1) *of nations* and (2) *against God*. Isa 1.2 is an example of the former. The analysis of this example in Chapter 5, Section 3.3. clearly shows that this instance too is a rebellion against *Causality*, which is *God* in the context of the book of Isaiah. It is indeed a rebellion of the nation, but this is not the crucial distinctive semantic feature of this lexical item.
4. **אָנָה** - This word is listed under the root **אָנָה**. The meanings given for **אָנָה** are “trouble, sorrow, wickedness” (19). Under the heading *trouble, sorrow* Isa 59.4 is given as an example (20). There is no indication as to how this lexical item is a form of negative moral behaviour, as it clearly is in this example (see Chapter 5, Section 3.4.).
5. **רעע** - The word *evil* is the common denominator used as a gloss for the various grammatical forms in which the lexical item occurs (947-949). The example of Isa 47.10 is listed under *ethical evil* (949), while Isa 47.11 is listed under *evil, misery, distress*. The lexicon provides no rationale for this distinction. The analysis of these examples in Chapter 5, Section 3.5. clearly shows that these are both examples of explicit negative moral behaviour directed against *Causality*.

6. רשע - In the various listings of the grammatical forms of this root the word *wicked* is the common denominator (957-958). Isa 26.10 is listed as an example of “*guilty of hostility* to God OR his people, *wicked enemies*.” In Chapter 5, Section 3.6, the analysis indicates that the relationship with *Causality* is indeed at play, but the main problem is lack of צדק. This aspect is not mentioned in BDB.

2.1.3. Evaluation of BDB

The summary of the data as well as the brief discussion of some examples makes clear that from the cross-cultural perspective that was taken in this study BDB provides little helpful information. There is a wide range of information that can be obtained from the lexicon and that can be helpful for other purposes, also for translators. The translator should be aware that the lexicon offers translation equivalents in English and not definitions of meanings. Moreover, the criteria used for semantic distinction are often not clear and/or not entirely relevant for translators. The accessibility of the lexicon is limited, due to the fact that all lexical items are listed under the root from which they originate. For beginning students of Hebrew, or those who have a limited knowledge of the language this is certainly a disadvantage.

2.2. Koehler & Baumgartner

2.2.1. Introduction

Just like BDB the KB lexicon pays tribute to Gesenius, who, in their words, is “the master of Hebrew lexicography.” To a certain extent this is an indication of the way the lexicon works. The organization of the information is simpler in comparison with BDB. Words are also listed alphabetically. But in his preface Koehler notes the difficulties in using BDB. It puts words beginning with a prefix “immediately after the word (root) they are derived from. But for beginners it is not always plain to find them there. Moreover the derivation sometimes is doubtful. Therefore the order of words in the present book will be strictly alphabetical, the derivations being also given with every root.” Furthermore Koehler states that the lexicon is enriched by two important developments, (1) the discovery of cognate languages; and (2) semantics. About the impact of semantics on the lexicon he says,

The safe principle of modern semantics is to look first for the original meaning of a word [...] and from this to derive the word's more abstract and even more spiritual meanings. As a rule today one endeavours to draw a genetical sequence of the meanings a word is apt to assume. That principle has, as far as possible, been followed in this dictionary.

In the light of semantic theory as developed in Chapter 2 this statement would definitely need some modification, but is important to note that semantics has had formative influence on this lexicon.

The issue of culture as an element of semantic contents is not explicitly mentioned in the introductions to this lexicon. There is reference to semantic fields in Hebrew. It is mentioned that by increasing the comparative material from other Semitic languages “we gain a greater understanding of the etymologies and of the semantic fields of Hebrew words.” Nevertheless, little or no attention is paid to the occurrence of synonyms and antonyms, so it is hard to determine the influence that the greater understanding of semantic fields has on the entries in the lexicon.

The basic structure for all entries is as follows: (1) Etymology; (2) Forms; (3) Meaning; and (4) Bibliography.

2.2.2. A brief overview of the lexical items in KB

In summary the lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour are described as follows in the lexicon²⁹:

1. **חטא** - (1) to miss; (2) to wrong (morally), offend; (3) to be culpable before a person; (4) to do wrong, sin; (5) to sin; (6) to commit a sin; and under (7) a number of references is listed, but the semantic peculiarities remain unclear in this entry. These are the meanings given for the Qal stem. The description of the other stem formations does not differ significantly, except that it is assumed that *guilt* is a meaning of **חטא**. From the seemingly random way in which the supposed meanings are ordered it is clear that the concept of semantic domains would have been a helpful organizing principle. There is no indication as to why meanings 2, 4, 5, and 6 should be different. Isa 29.21 is cited as an example of misleading into sin against men. The analysis in Chapter 5, Section 3.1. has demonstrated that this is doubtful. Isa 53.12 is quoted to show that with a genitive the meaning is *to bear the guilt of*. Again the analysis has demonstrated that the word *guilt* is not necessarily the correct translation. Furthermore the feature *to bear* is the semantic contribution of **שָׂא** and not of **חטא**.
2. **עָוֹן** - (1) misdeed, sin; (2) guilt caused by sin; (3) punishment (for guilt). As far as the book of Isaiah is concerned it was noted in Chapter 5, Section 3.2. that in the given

contexts it is often difficult to justify *guilt* as a translation equivalent. KB explicitly talks about *guilt caused by sin*. In the example cited from Isaiah, 14.21, the wide semantic connectivity of עֲוֹן within the domain of negative moral behaviour is demonstrated and there is no reason to assume a meaning different from the one that refers to negative moral behaviour.

3. פָּשַׁע - (1) to break with; (2) to break away from; (3) to behave as a criminal. The first meaning is divided into two parts: (a) people or states breaking with one another; and (b) to break with God. To illustrate the last point Isa 1.2; 43.27; and 66.24 are rightly quoted. However, Isa 59.13 is quoted as an example of *to behave as a criminal*. The analysis of Chapter 5, Section 3.3. clearly demonstrates that the meaning and also the usage is exactly the same as in the other examples. This also applies to 1.28, which is given as a further illustration of the third meaning and which is further specified as *disloyal*. However, it is hard to see why all other occurrences should then not be qualified as *disloyal*. In the book of Isaiah the lexical item gives expression to deliberate and conscious breach with *Causality*, an act which is disloyal by definition.
4. אָוֶן - (1) disaster; (2) (looming) disaster; (3) sin, injustice; (4) deception, nothingness; and (5) false, idolatrous cult. Even without checking the examples, it is clear that 1 and 2 cannot be considered to represent two different meanings. In fact, the references to Isaiah (58.9 for 1, and 59.4 for 2) both refer to negative moral behaviour, explicated as social injustice. This social aspect is also present in 31.2, which is cited as an example of meaning 3. Isa 1.13 is given under meaning 5, while in fact it is used to label false worship as a kind of אָוֶן.
5. רָעַע - (1) to be bad, not fit for use; (2) to be evil, displeasing (in someone's eyes). There is no example from Isaiah of meaning 1. Meaning 2 is illustrated with Isa 59.15. The LORD is being displeased in this verse. Numerous variations of the derivation of רָעַע are mentioned, but they mainly are different usages.
6. רָשַׁע - (1) guilty of an individual crime, in the wrong; (2) guilty in general, essentially before God, guilty, wicked person; and (3) particular instances which are defined according to the context in which they occur. The emphasis is more on guilt than in the other lexicons. The fact that צַדִּיק is an important antonym has been noted by the lexicon. This is also a dominant feature of the analysis of Chapter 5.

²⁹ It is important to note that much of the information on which the first three entries are based is provided by Knierim, who also wrote the articles on the lexical items in JW.

2.2.3. Evaluation of KB

The lexicon contains a wealth of information in terms of references and other relevant sources. It is better accessible than BDB and it gives statistical information. From the preceding discussion it is clear that for cross-cultural communication the value is somewhat limited. There is no reference to cultural background of the OT, neither to the way Hebrew is categorized from a cognitive perspective. The long lists of meanings and usages (which are not properly distinguished from each other) make it difficult for translators to identify the lexical meanings. It is unclear what criteria have been used to distinguish certain meanings and/or usages. There is no attempt at defining meanings. The lexicon only lists translation equivalents. The large variety in equivalents is partly caused by the fact that some of the meanings are actually usages which are only relevant in a specific context.

2.3. Jenni & Westermann

2.3.1. Introduction

The approach of this lexicon is markedly different from the previous ones, mainly because the aim for writing the lexicon was different. The lexicon intends "to offer a reliable aid for the academic study of the OT but also for the church's teaching and preaching. The contributor's concern has been to set the treatment of the meaning of individual vocabulary entries on the broadest possible methodological basis" (xi). The lexicon wants to pay more attention to issues such as categorization. It states that "the categorization of the occurrences of a word must result from the sentences in which they occur and from their function in the larger context" (xi-xii). Unfortunately that does not mean that the issue of categorization has deeply influenced the semantic descriptions of the lexical items.

The work of the lexicon is affected by a further important correction offered by so-called semantic-field research, whose usefulness for the determination of the meanings of words that seem very closely related or synonymous, as well as for the translation into other languages where the semantic fields are often structured otherwise, can only be alluded to here (xii).

In spite of the recognition that semantic fields are important for translators the concept did apparently not play a prominent role in the composition of the lexicon, but at the same time it is good to note that the lexicon has been "affected" by it.

Another important observation is that "*TLOT* cannot replace the extant lexicons, if only because of the selection of the words to be treated. Rather it supplements these lexicons" (xiii). The

lexicon does not pretend to present a full treatise of all Hebrew roots and lexical items. It is simply meant as “an aid to exegesis” (xiv). The primary audience is “theologians and pastors with a minimal knowledge of Hebrew and OT studies” (xiv). These are clear indications of the limited value for translation, although it should be noted that all OT key terms have found a place in the lexicon, which still makes it a very helpful reference tool for translators.

Another theoretical concern is the reliance on the concept of “*Grundbedeutung*” or “core meaning” (xvii). This betrays the same etymological bias as was noted for BDB. The assumption seems to be that each lexical item can be traced back to an original meaning from which other meanings are derived. The risk of this method is that it can easily lead to what Barr calls “illegitimate totality transfer” (1987:218). All different meanings and usages of a lexical item are added together and presented as being the real meaning of a lexical item. It should be noted that a more critical attitude towards the etymological approach has been practiced in this lexicon. There is attention for “the limitations of the etymological methods” (xvii) and “a warning against speculation” (xvii).

The format of the entries is consistently fivefold. 1. Root and derivation; 2. Statistics; 3. Meaning and history of meaning; 4. Theological usage; and 5. Postbiblical usage.

2.3.2. A brief overview of the lexical items in JW

A summary of the entries for the lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour gives the following results:

1. **חָטָא** - to miss. A 6-page article under the heading “to miss” is included (Knierim, 1997: 406-411). The article provides a statistical overview (as is the case with many of the entries) of the root **חָטָא** in the OT. The basic meaning is “to miss” (407), but it is also used as “a comprehensive term for ‘sin.’ In this respect, both the basic meaning itself and the usage of all derivatives in whatever context indicate the factuality of the error” (408). A variety of errors is mentioned: legal, cultic, social, etc. (408), but the sole emphasis on broken relationship with *Causality* which was the main characteristic of the analysis in Chapter 5, Section 3.1. is not expressed. It is stated that “the criterion for ‘error’ is not particular commandments but injury to a communal relationship: a person sins against a person or against God” (409). This was not confirmed in the book of Isaiah, but unfortunately no examples from Isaiah are given. The article also makes reference to the other lexical items in the domain (except **חָטָא** en **שָׁעָה**) and classifies these as generic terms for *sin* (410). It identifies **חָטָא** as standing alone among the lexical items. “The

other three are used complementary” (410). The article does not identify the differences between the lexical items.

2. עָוֶן - perversity. Knierim (1997:862-866) has devoted 5 pages to this lexical item. The article contains some of the same elements as נָחַל. The basic meaning is “to bend, curve, turn aside, twist” (863). The noun only occurs in a figurative sense. Furthermore, it is stated that “the term is inseparably rooted in dynamistic holistic thought, apparently because it is a term of motion that essentially expresses a process of movement” (863). It does not become clear what exactly this means in terms of semantic contents of the lexical item. The link with the other lexical items in the domain is lacking in this article.
3. פֶּשַׁע - crime. Knierim (1997:1033-1037) describes the *Grundbedeutung* as “a formal category encompassing the various types of material and personal crimes indicated by those terms” (1034). His observation that the term refers to a variety of specific forms of negative moral behaviour is confirmed by the low degree of abstraction that was noted in the analysis of Chapter 5, Section 4.2.1. In the area of theological usage Knierim says that “the deeds it describes affect Yahweh or his sovereignty and consequently require his judgment or forgiveness” (1036). This too is largely confirmed by the analysis in the preceding chapter. JW links the lexical item with נָחַל and עָוֶן noting that the difference lies in “their varied origins: colloquialism, dynamistic expression, legal term” (1036). This is not motivated or semantically explained.
4. אָזָז - harm. According to Knierim “the chief meaning of the term largely reflects its etymology: destructive power. Its usage presupposes a dynamistic understanding of existence (a concept of domains of action): disaster is a mighty process, and might, when it assumes a negative form, is disaster” (1997:61). The lexical item is connected with “unhealthy activities”, but there is no indication about what this means. It is linked with other synonymous lexical items in the domain, while also some antonyms are listed. These lists confirm the analysis of Chapter 5, Section 3.4.
5. רָעָה - to be bad. The main semantic feature identified by Stoebe (1997:1249) is the contrast of רָעָה with טוֹב, similar to the findings that are expressed in Chapter 5, Section 2.3.2. There is no distinction between ‘bad’ and ‘evil’ in Hebrew. Stoebe does note four other distinctions: 1. *in evaluations and decisions*; 2. *as misfortune*; 3. *as evil, evil act* (1250); and 4. *to treat badly* (1253). Isa 59.15 is cited as an example involving judgment or a decision. However, it is not clear why this feature is different from the usage of רָעָה

in 59.7 which is not mentioned at all, or 32.7 which is cited as an example of *misfortune*. These criteria seem not all that relevant to describe the lexical meaning of רעע.

6. רשע - to be impious/guilty. Van Leeuwen (1997:1262) writes that רשע “expresses negative behavior—evil thoughts, words and deeds—antisocial behavior that simultaneously betrays a person’s inner disharmony and unrest.” The most important antonym is צדק. These findings concur with the analyses in Chapter 5, Sections 2.3.2. and 3.6. Another important antonym, שלום, is not mentioned. This is exactly the antonym that occurs in the example (57.20) that is used by van Leeuwen to illustrate his definition. The high degree of specificity is also mentioned, as is the case in the analysis in Chapter 5, Section 4.2.1.

2.3.3. Evaluation of JW

From the preceding discussion it is clear that the lexicon addresses a number of issues that were also apparent in the analysis of Chapter 5. The statistical information is very helpful, certainly for the translator. At the same time it should be noted that the information that is offered is somehow erratic. Certain entries contain a wealth of linguistic information with a good discussion of relevant semantic features. This particularly applies to the article on רשע, while others hardly undertake an attempt to provide a semantic definition of the lexical meaning. The entry of עון is a case in point. Apart from that, there is no specific reference to relevant cultural issues that are significant semantic features. It should be noted, though, that this is a theological lexicon and should be evaluated as such. As far as linguistic information is concerned the authors have carefully taken note of Barr’s (1987) criticism of Bible dictionaries. The fact that only theological key terms are used restricts the usability for translation. Furthermore, there is a lot of information that is not relevant for the translator, or which has only a limited value for the task of translation. This particularly applies to information in the sections on root and derivation, theological usage and postbiblical usage.

2.4. VanGemenen

2.4.1. Introduction

This dictionary is again further removed from the traditional lexicons in which one looks for the meanings of lexical items. Apart from lexical articles it offers a wide range of materials that are intended to guide the reader into doing Old Testament theology. The dictionary therefore also

contains a "Guide to Old Testament theology and exegesis." In addition to this there is a topical dictionary and an index of semantic fields. The latter is an indication of the supposedly different lexicographical approach of this dictionary. In the VG 2001 *Preface*³⁰ the main point of semantic fields is stated as follows:

The reader will benefit from understanding the meaning of words in relation to other words. Each Hebrew word is part of a larger range (semantic field). The meaning of a word in a text can be nuanced better in relation to other words. The three thousand entries cover the most common roots in the Hebrew language of the OT, as well as many common and less common words.

The alphabetical ordering of the lexical articles is based on Hebrew not on English, as is the case in the NT equivalent of this dictionary. The index of semantic fields and words is based on English.

This index contains 2050 entries. The basis on which a semantic field is defined remains unclear. The closest one comes to a rationale behind the semantic fields is when the dictionary states, "The 'semantic field' is a range of words whose meanings are related to one another by a common theme (*Index of semantic fields, Directions*)."

This does obviously not indicate what criteria determine the existence and the scope of a semantic field. This observation has to be made in spite of the fact that the dictionary also says that "this Index makes an attempt to define many fields more narrowly (*Index of semantic fields, Directions*)."

There are different kinds of semantic fields with different kinds of cross-linking, of which the most prominent entries are marked with an asterisk.

In the index some of the lexical items belonging to the domain of negative moral behaviour are grouped together in one of these marked fields, entitled "**Sin, guilt, rebellion, transgression, wrong** (*Sin, guilt, rebellion, transgression, wrong*)."

All lexical items that are subject of this study are all included in this semantic field, with the notable exception of רשע and רעע. These lexical items are part of the marked semantic field "**Wickedness** (*Wickedness*)."

At the same time רשע also occurs in the unmarked semantic field "**Unrighteous** (*Unrighteous*)."

רשע and derivations of רעע also occur in the unmarked semantic field of "**Evil** (*Evil*)."

Another unmarked semantic field in which רעע occurs, with exactly the same English glosses as in the other semantic fields is "**Perversity** (*Perversity*)."

In this field it co-occurs with עון, which is also labeled with the same gloss as in the marked semantic field "**Sin, guilt, rebellion, transgression,**

³⁰ References to the electronic version of VG are identical to the titles that appear in the title bar at the top of the various articles in the dictionary. In the electronic version the full title appears as "Zondervan Reference Software – [NIDOTTE – PREFACE]" I only mention what appears in the title bar after "NIDOTTE." These references will be made in italics.

wrong,” while, as I already noted before, רעע was not included in this latter, marked semantic field. זיין and זיין also co-occur in the unmarked semantic field of “**Iniquity (Iniquity)**” with the exact same glosses, “iniquity, punishment of sin, transgression” and “mischief, iniquity, deception” respectively. There is no indication about the nature of the connection between the different semantic fields, neither about the relationship among the lexical items that belong to one semantic field.

The entries in the ‘lexical articles’ where each of the lexical items is discussed individually do not refer to the name(s) or title(s) of semantic field(s) to which they belong. This undermines the intention expressed in the Preface that “the meaning of a word in a text can be nuanced better in relation to other words.”

It is clear from this brief overview that the decisions to include lexical items in one or the other semantic field are rather arbitrary. The use of fixed glosses to describe the meaning of the lexical items, regardless of the semantic field in which they occur, does not recognize the semantic differences that one would expect if one particular lexical item occurs in a variety of semantic fields. Either some of the semantic fields are not different and should therefore not be listed separately, or the glosses that describe the lexical items are irrelevant. It is apparent that the criteria for the formation of lexical fields are not based on indications arising out of the Hebrew language or culture, while it is also clear that considerations in the area of world view have not played a role in defining the semantic fields. The semantic fields are not defined at all. They are only labeled and accompanied by a list of lexical items with English glosses.

2.4.2. A brief overview of the lexical items in VG

Before giving an overview of the ‘lexical articles’ about the lexical items in the domain of negative moral behaviour, I make some remarks about the format of the lexical articles which, according to VG 2001, form “the substance of the dictionary” (*Preface*).

Each of the lexical articles is preceded by a code number which gives immediate access to references in the NIV in which that particular lexical item occurs. The entry contains the glosses, first of the root in the various stem formations, then of all derived lexical items. This is followed by a description of the lexical item in its relationship with cognate languages, which is in turn followed by an article about the lexical item in the Old Testament in which links to related lexical items may occur. The scope and depth of these articles varies a lot. The entry on נחם contains an article on usage of this lexical item in the OT of five pages with much emphasis on its theological significance. זיין is described in about one third of a page.

1. חטא - miss, sin, commit a sin (*chata' H2627*). Apart from the listing of the glosses, there is no attempt to provide a description of the meaning of חטא. In a lengthy description of the vocabulary for sin in the OT there is reference to other lexical items in the domain: עון and פשע. There is an attempt to distinguish the meanings, although this is not done on grounds of lexical semantic criteria, but rather on the basis of a theological discussion. At the end of the entry there is a listing of related semantic fields, but the nature of the relationship remains unclear. In many of the semantic fields to which the reader is referred the lexical items חטא itself does not appear, so the degree to which it is related is even less notable. Is the relationship synonymous, or antonymous? The lists do not provide an answer.
2. עון - iniquity, punishment of sin, transgression (*'avon H6411*). In a brief article on the use of עון in the OT it is noted that the word has a predominantly religious and ethical function. There is a short reference to חטא and פשע.
3. פשע - offense(s), rebellion, crime(s), legal offense, personal offense, guilt, wrong(s), property offense, penalty (*pasha' H7321*). Only in this entry reference is made to an example of co-occurrence of רעע, חטא and פשע (*pesha' H7322*), while in the semantic fields these three lexical items are seemingly unrelated. It is explained that פשע has a narrower meaning than חטא and עון, but what "narrower" exactly implies remains unclear. The lexical item is supposed to originate from the political sphere to mean "rebellion." It normally implies willful rebellion of inferior against a superior. It is further explained that in biblical theology, "the term refers to an open and brazen defiance of God by humans." It is not clear why this distinction of biblical theology is made and why the meaning changes in the context of biblical theology. In the analysis of Chapter 5, Sections 3.3. and 4. it was demonstrated that in general a breach of relationship with God is part of the semantic contents of this lexical item as it is used in the book of Isaiah.
4. און - evil, iniquity; wicked man, evildoer; mischief, sorrow, calamity; punishment (*'aven1 H224*). The entry contains reference to a hypothetical root and therefore "could highlight a negative aspect of power." In the article on OT usage the lexical item is connected with רעע and רשע. This article also contains descriptions of different usages in the OT, including the use by the prophets in which it is noted that Isaiah emphasizes the social aspects of this lexical item.

5. רעע - be bad, be displeasing, look coldly on (*ra'a' 1 H8317*). The entry pays ample attention to the relationship with the antonym טוב, "indicating opposite poles of a spectrum." The example of Isa 5.20 is quoted and confirms the analysis of Chapter 5, Sections 2.3.1. and 3.5. It is remarkable that there is ample attention for the relationship with the antonym, while the synonyms are not mentioned at all. In the semantic fields of "**Bad, vicious, wicked** (*Bad, vicious, wicked*)" and "**Wickedness** (*Wickedness*)" several synonymous lexical items are listed, but none is discussed in this lexical article.
6. רשע - act wickedly, unrighteously, to be guilty, wicked (*rash' H8399*). The entry states that רשע "always includes the idea of wickedness, evil intent, and injustice against God or persons." The article does pay attention to the relationship with its antonym צדק and also with a number of synonyms. It is noteworthy that the entry also contains a short description of what it calls "the most common Hebrew roots for sin," עון, חטאת, and פשע, while in the semantic fields רשע does not co-occur with these lexical items. The description of חטאת, עון, and פשע does not exactly match the entries of the lexical items elsewhere in the lexical articles. For example, in the description of עון the "predominantly religious and ethical function" (see point 2 of this paragraph) is not mentioned at all. Instead it says that it "primarily designates the character of an action rather than act itself. It highlights a deviation or twisting of a standard (with full knowledge of its significance)."

2.4.3. Evaluation of VG

In the course of the above observations it has become clear that VG promises more than it offers. The suggestion of dividing the Hebrew vocabulary up in semantic fields is attractive for translators and should be evaluated positively. It offers the possibility of analyzing the semantic structures within a language in relation to its culture and world view and compare this with those of the receptor culture.

This is what the dictionary seems to offer. The Preface puts forward an approach based on semantic fields, so that the meaning of words can be understood in relation to other words. And indeed, the dictionary offers a list of semantic fields, but the organization of the semantic fields seems to be lacking in rationale and is therefore arbitrary in its composition. The preceding paragraphs provide ample evidence for this observation. The approach is therefore at some points confusing, rather than clarifying. At other points the entries contain contradictory information.

The definition of the semantic fields and the criteria on which these are based are absolutely unclear and they are certainly not based on a solid theory about culture and world view. The underlying world view structure for Hebrew would not allow for distinctions and variations in the 'semantic fields' in the way this dictionary has done.

The way the information is offered in the various entries of the lexical items also shows inconsistencies. Some entries pay ample attention to synonyms and leave out the antonyms, while others show exactly the opposite picture.

The dictionary therefore does not match the positive intentions that are formulated in the Preface. It lacks a coherent approach and is in need of a clearer structure.

2.5. De Blois

As I already indicated, DB is a proposed dictionary. The dictionary is currently being developed under the auspices of the United Bible Societies. DB provides the theoretical framework on which the dictionary will be based. It also contains a sample dictionary of all Hebrew words of the Old Testament that start with the letter פ (121-345), a category in which one of the lexical items that are the subject of this study also fits, פִּנְחָה.

2.5.1. Introduction

The idea for this dictionary developed out of experiences with Louw & Nida (1988). In their *Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament, based on semantic domains* they had practiced a totally different approach in lexicography which is very fruitful for Bible translators (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.3.2.). Attempts to follow the same approach for Hebrew have thus far not been successful. Swanson (1997) uses the same semantic domains as Louw & Nida (1988) and thereby seems to deny the fact that language is culture specific.³¹ The semantic domains should express the underlying world view of the speakers of a language, as has been demonstrated in the preceding chapters. It is therefore impossible to use the same set of semantic domains from one language and apply them to another. DB makes a similar observation after attempts to write entries for a Hebrew semantic domain dictionary, based on the same semantic domains as the lexicon of Louw & Nida (1988): "Distinctions had to be made that, from the perspective of the language and its underlying world view, were not to be distinguished at all" (1).

DB then concludes that

³¹ It should be noted here that Swanson recognizes this problem. He follows Louw & Nida's semantic domains for practical reasons. In the preface he states that there is "no suggestion that a Greek language

for that reason each individual language requires a thorough and structural semantic study before we can even make the slightest effort towards producing a dictionary in that language. This becomes very crucial for translators in cases where there are significant differences in culture and world view between the source and target language (5).

Therefore the key question is: Can a framework be established in which culture and world view are duly recognized as significant factors in semantics and consequently also in lexicography? According to DB this should be possible. His aim is "to come up with a modified framework, that will do justice to a language like Biblical Hebrew and its underlying culture and beliefs, without discarding the important insights with which Louw and Nida's work have provided us" (23). In order to achieve this goal he proposes "a number of major modifications (23)" of Louw & Nida's (1988) approach. These modifications can be summarized as follows:

1. A distinction needs to be made between *lexical* and *contextual* semantic domains in order to be able to distinguish between *lexical* meanings, focusing on those semantic features that are shared by a group of related instances of a lexical entry and *contextual* meanings that take all relevant aspects of the context of a particular instance into consideration. These two levels are visible in the format that is used to reflect either kind of meanings in the dictionary (23-24). DB agrees that the border line between *lexical* and *contextual* meaning "can be vague and fuzzy" (29).
2. In terms of format Louw & Nida's (1988) lexicon has grouped the lexical items by their semantic domains. DB proposes an alphabetical ordering because that makes it easier to see the shared semantic features of a particular lexical item that is found under more than one domain. Furthermore this would make it easier to see the patterns in the way the lexical items are used figuratively. The distinction *lexical* vs. *contextual* domains would make it impossible to follow the same organizing principle as Louw & Nida (1988). An important additional reason for alphabetical ordering of the lexical items is the fact that an electronic copy of the dictionary is planned, which makes cross-linking and searching easy. The printed copy will be accompanied by two indices, one for lexical and one for contextual domains (25-26).
3. Another modification is the incorporation of frame theory. In the words of DB "we will need to create a set of *conceptual frames*, each consisting of a number of *slots*. Each *lexical* semantic domain that we will establish for Biblical Hebrew will be assigned to one of these conceptual frames. This will help us to identify all relevant semantic features

domain structure should be imposed on a Hebrew culture domain structure." Yet, this is exactly what is done in Swanson (1997).

for each lexical unit and lead to a uniform set of definitions for each *lexical* domain. This will enable us to compare lexical units belonging to the same semantic domain" (26). DB identifies four semantic classes: *Objects*, *Events*, *Attributes*, and *Relationals* (26). This classification is only relevant for lexical domains and not for contextual domains (34). The class of *Attributes* is eventually not included as being relevant for the identification of the lexical semantic domains of biblical Hebrew.

The three remaining classes, *Objects*, *Events*, and *Relationals* form the basis for the lexical semantic domains, although it is not made clear how and to what extent Hebrew culture and world view play a role in the identification of the lexical semantic domains. The choice of lexical classes emanates from the development of frame theory (6-8) which DB considers "a useful model for the representation of human knowledge...worthwhile to try to adapt...for lexicographic purposes" (7). DB further states that one of the strengths of the frame theory lies in its *perspective*.

As far as its perspective is concerned, the frame theory respects the world view behind a given language, no matter how culturally distant it may be to a modern language like English. Different frame types can be defined to reflect the intuitions of the native speaker (8).

It is unfortunate that DB does not elaborate further on this point. How do we discover the intuitions of the native speaker? It therefore remains unclear how and to what extent world view issues have played a role in defining the semantic domains. The choice for the three semantic classes, for example, is not motivated, other than that Louw & Nida (1988) follow a similar "well-known semantic division of lexical units" (17). To what extent this division is culturally determined and/or conditioned has not been discussed. Neither has it been discussed why the same classes are also applicable to biblical Hebrew. It is possible to assume that these classes are regarded as universals, but this is not explicitly stated.

These semantic classes form the basis for the definition of the lexical semantic domains. From each of the semantic classes a number of lexical semantic domains are defined on the basis of a careful analysis of biblical Hebrew. Each of the domains is further defined by a number of slots for each conceptual frame, as was stated under point 3 above.

As far as *contextual* domains are concerned, DB notes that there is need "to set up a list of all relevant aspects of Old Testament life, in a way that reflects the Old Testament world view and culture" (87). In order to achieve this DB still follows the same basic semantic classes that were also used for the definition of *lexical* semantic domains, albeit that he limits himself to *Objects*

and *Events* and leaves out the *Relationals*. The *contextual* domains related to *Object* focus on "the type of activities in which these *Objects* play a role" (88). According to DB

the way *contextual* semantic domains relate to *Events* may differ substantially from the way they relate to *Objects*. The *contextual* meaning of *Events* can, at least as far as Biblical Hebrew is concerned, be grouped into four basic categories: *Contents*, *Participants*, *Motivation*, and *Background* (88).

After discussing each of these categories DB provides a tentative list of *contextual* domains (89-96). Again it is difficult to recognize the cultural specificity in this list, as well as the way in which biblical Hebrew culture and its underlying world view have had influence on the creation of this list.

DB summarizes the principles for a semantic domain dictionary as follows:

1. The meaning of a word is to be established on the basis of a purely *semantic* analysis only. *Philological* and *grammatical* considerations are not to play more than a minor role in the process.
2. The *lexical* meaning of a word is to be explained in the form of a *definition* covering all relevant semantic features of that word rather than with the help of a number of *glosses*.
3. The meaning of a word can only be understood well if it is studied in relationship with other words that belong to the same *semantic domain*. Only in this way can we discover all semantic features of a word that are relevant.
4. Only a *structural* semantic analysis of a language can help us discover which semantic domains are relevant for that language (104).

All this leads to a dictionary in which a distinction is made between *structural* (of semantic nature) and *supplementary* (non-semantic) information and which is presented in a hierarchy of four levels: (1) entry; (2) base form [with list of included derivations]; (3) lexical meaning [with semantic class and definition]; and (4) contextual meaning [with gloss(es)] (106).

DB contains 3 appendices. Appendix A contains a sample dictionary for the Hebrew letter ן. This will be discussed in the next paragraph. Appendices B and C contain the indices of the lexical and the contextual semantic domains. The appendices merely contain listings of all Hebrew lexical items organized according to the various categories that have been established in the theoretical part of DB. The printed version of these appendices does not provide any indication of the exact structure of these categories, neither of the mutual relationships between the lexical items or an indication of the degree of typicality. The lexical items in each of the categories are just listed

alphabetically, while it is not always easy to see the connection between the lexical items that are grouped together. For example, the lexical item **חָטָא** in Job 31.33 is lumped together with **שָׁחָה** in the contextual semantic domain of *Wrong* while there is no reason to assume that the lexical item **חָטָא** itself has any such connotations. It is only used in combination with hiding negative moral behaviour, but that does not necessarily imply that the semantic contents of this lexical item fits within the same contextual domain.

2.5.2. **שָׁחָה** in DB

The most notable difference with the other lexicons (including VG 2001) is the fact that this dictionary contains only one entry for the root **שָׁחָה**. This is consistent with the principles that are put forward in DB that neither stem formations nor derivations should determine the entries and the hierarchy of a dictionary (101-103). The dictionary “primarily deals with meaning” (102) and “semantics has been given prevalence over grammar and philology” (103).

Practically this means that the lexical item **שָׁחָה** in terms of semantic class is entered under *Events* with 12 lexical meanings (177-179). The lexical item is further described in terms of lexical semantic domains. In this case they are all defined as *Connection*, which is one of four *lexical* domains that are distinguished under the semantic classes *Event* and *Relational* (111). This can again be subdivided “according to the criteria **level of abstraction** (A, B, C) and **level of derivation** (1, 2, 3) (112). In the case of **שָׁחָה** there are two entries as C1, six as C2, and four as C3. What does this mean? *Connection* is defined as “all *Events* that describe the relationship between *Objects* that are attached to one or more *Objects*” (117). The letter C refers to “*Events* occurring in propositions with another *Event* as main argument” (117). The numbers 1-3 stand for the following:

1. *State/Process* – the simplest type of *Event*, found in propositions of which the main argument (the *Statant*) is not in control of the *Event*.
2. *Action* – a derivation of the *State/Process* where the main argument has the semantic function of *Agent* and is in control of the *Event*.
3. *Causative* – a derivation of the *Action* in that another argument (*Causar*) is added, which takes over the control of the *Event* from the *Agent* and actually causes that *Agent* to perform the *Action* described above (117).

These rather abstract and theoretical descriptions are complemented by semantic definitions. The one that is relevant for the scope of this study, both listed under meaning (c) **Events: Connection** C2 (178) reads as follows: “to commit a specified or implied offense; >> results in a state of guilt

which may require atonement, restitution, and retribution; AG people; GO events”³² (178). This entry refers to the following contextual domain: **Responsibility; Wrong**, which in turn is followed by the gloss *to sin* (178). Among the references there are many from the book of Isaiah: 1.4, 18; 3.9; 5.18; 6.7; 27.9; 30.1,1; 31.7; 38.17; 40.2; 42.24; 43.24,25,27; 44.22; 53.12; 58.1; 59.2,12; 64.4. Alternatively, under the same entry (c), the lexical item also occurs in the contextual domain **Responsibility; Groups; Wrong**, with the gloss *to be sinful (as an epithet for a group of people for which sin is a pattern of behaviour)* (178). The following references are provided from the book of Isaiah: 1.28; 13.9; 33.14.

There are obviously some common elements in the above entries. The contextual domain **Responsibility** is defined as “All terms relating to people’s responsibility for their actions towards other people and/or supernatural beings, including all terminology relating to the elimination of guilt and the restoration of the relationships that were affected by this morally and ethically wrong behavior” (95).

The contextual domain **Wrong** is described as “All terms relating to what is considered to be morally and/or ethically wrong, depending on the perspective of the context” (96).

The only difference between the two above entries is the addition of **Groups** as a contextual domain to the second meaning. **Groups** is defined as “all terms relating to (membership of) groups and assemblies of people, and associated behavior” (91). The most significant difference for the user is actually in the gloss.

2.5.3. Evaluation of DB

DB undertakes a serious attempt to provide a dictionary that is based on semantic domains. It provides a strong theoretical background for its approach and applies the implications of its theoretical perspective rather consistently. The *lexical* semantic domains, based on the semantic classes are clearly defined and do show coherence from the perspective of the analyst.

Nevertheless, it is also clear that the dictionary does not quite escape from the same the pitfalls that it has observed in Louw & Nida (1988). The semantic classes that are proposed for the Hebrew language are those of the researcher and not those that emanate from the Hebrew culture and world view. There are no indications that from the perspective of the Hebrew speaker the distinction between *Objects*, *Events*, and *Relationals* is one that reflects their world view. In other words, it is a distinction that may be relevant from the perspective of a linguist, or rather, as is the case here, a semanticist, but not one that bears relevance for the speaker/user of the language.

³² The symbols used in this definition have the following meanings in this context: >> = Result; AG = Agent; GO = Goal (123).

This basic principle of categorization is therefore clearly an etic distinction and not an emic one. This fundamental problem carries through in the entire system of categorization that has been proposed for the dictionary, since the lexical and contextual domains are also based on this fundamental distinction between *Objects*, *Events*, and *Relationals*. DB makes a statement that actually seems to contradict the concern it has expressed elsewhere about the specific nature of Old Testament world view.

Since we have decided to distinguish between *lexical* and *contextual* domains, there is no reason not to rethink the entire issue of *contextual* domains, and to set up a list of all relevant aspects of Old Testament life, in a way that reflects the Old Testament world view and culture (87).

The list of contextual domains that follows, however, is a list with the alphabet as the only organizing principle. Hebrew world view and culture do not appear to have a determining influence on the composition of the list. No comprehensive analysis has been carried out to determine what exactly are the coherent principles of Hebrew world view. In fact it is said that "an effort has been made to keep [the labels for the *contextual* domains] as short as possible" (89). The fact that world view is not the determining factor has been explicitly stated when it says, "This is the main reason why there is quite some difference between the labels used by Louw and Nida and ours [DB] even though there is quite some overlap between some of the domains and some of the ones proposed below" [i.e. in the alphabetical list that follows] (89-90). At this point one would have expected that the difference in world view and culture between the Greek and Hebrew speaking communities of the New and Old Testament would be the determining factor, given the numerous allusions that have been made to the difference of the underlying culture and world view, such as the statement that "we will have to base our categories on the ancient world view, rather than on the modern scientific approach" (28). The main cause of this problem is the apparent lack of a comprehensive theory of world view that is complemented by a systematic analytical approach towards the concept of world view. The way the concept of world view seems to be taken is apparently restricted to the way in which biblical authors viewed certain aspects of reality. It is not considered as an organizing principle that influences categorization and cognition in general.

This also explains why in the description of נֶפֶשׁ the relationship with *Causality* as a central notion of Old Testament (or at least "Isaiah") world view is not considered in any of the entries. Instead a less significant element, such as **Groups** becomes prominent in a sense that does not reflect Old Testament perception of this world view variable. In terms of **Groups** the distinction *Self-Other* is crucial, also in relationship with the definition of negative moral behaviour in

general. However, DB limits it to the contrast individual vs. group, which does not appear to be a determining factor from an Old Testament perspective.

In addition to that, it is not clear why **עוֹלָם** in Isa 1.28 (see Section 2.5.2.) is listed as an example of **Responsibility; Groups; Wrong**. To be sinful is thereby explicitly described as “an epithet for a group of people for which sin is a pattern of behaviour” (178). At the same time the occurrence of **עוֹלָם** in 1.4 is not listed under **Groups** while at that point Isaiah clearly address the entire nation as a group. Similarly in Isa 1.18 the addressee is not an individual, but the nation as an entity. The Hebrew text uses the second person masculine plural suffix to emphasize this point. Isa 3.9 is another case in point. The people of Jerusalem (and Judah) are the addressees. So in terms of the DB category **Groups** this would be another example that should have been listed there. More examples of this can be cited. The fact that the Old Testament prophets address the people as a group is general and widespread, certainly in the book of Isaiah. “Israel and Jerusalem are developed as characterizations of the peoples over three centuries” (Watts, 1985:lii). But as stated already, the distinction *Self-Other* is more pertinent to the understanding of **עוֹלָם** and its consequences from the perspective of the book of Isaiah, and probably of Old Testament world view in general than the distinction between group and individual.

Given the fact that what is presented in DB is only a sample some of the comments can only be of limited significance, since a complete dictionary will provide a more comprehensive picture of the way the dictionary will cover all semantic domains. Yet, at this point a number of preliminary observations should be made:

1. The dictionary does not seem to make use of synonyms and antonyms to delineate semantic domains. It has become clear in the analysis of Chapter 5 that parallelism is a crucial device that can help in drawing an emic perspective, resulting in frames and categories that are based on the perception and cognition of the users of the language and not on the insights of the analyst.
2. The sample dictionary does not provide insight into questions with regard to the degree of typicality of the members of a category. On the basis of the information provided it is difficult to see how other members of the domain of negative moral behaviour will be distinguished from **עוֹלָם**. The lexical item **עוֹלָם** for example can also easily be classified along the same lines as **עוֹלָם**, i.e. under *Events: Connection C2*. What would be the

distinguishing element? This a very crucial question, especially when it comes to translation.³³

3. The definitions of the lexical semantic domains are highly general and therefore often rather abstract and at the same time fairly technical and sophisticated. This restricts the value of these definitions for translators. The examples in Section 2.5.2. illustrate this point well. What is the implication for the translator of knowing that a lexical item is defined as *Connection C2*? Even if it is understood that “*Connection*” means “all *Events* that describe the relationship between *Objects* that are attached to one or more *Objects*,” and that “*C*” stands for “*Events* occurring in propositions with another *Event* as main argument,” and “*2*” represents “*Action* – a derivation of the *State/Process* where the main argument has the semantic function of *Agent* and is in control of the *Event*,” one still wonders if this knowledge leads the translator to a better understanding of the semantic contents of that particular lexical item in a given context.

3. Some observations about Hebrew lexicography

The aim of this paragraph is not provide a fully developed proposal for Hebrew lexicography. That would be outside the scope of the present study. The main purpose is to identify some areas of concern which need to be addressed, particularly if lexicons are to be useful for Bible translators. The preceding paragraphs have demonstrated that lexicons leave room for improvement in the area of world view and culture. In view of the analyses that have been provided in the course of this study it is clear that methods have to be developed to address these issues in such a way that Bible translators can benefit from the results of these analyses, so that they have a reliable basis on which they can make informed decisions that are relevant for cross-cultural communication.

3.1. General remarks

3.1.1. Introduction

From the above evaluations of existing lexicons and dictionaries (in Section 2) for the purpose of Bible translation it is clear that there is still no satisfactory solution to the problem of inclusion of encyclopedic knowledge. This aspect is crucial with regard to Hebrew lexicography. It is generally recognized that the distance in time and culture between source and receptor language

³³ It is not suggested that the same distinction needs to be made in translation. It is only argued that a translator needs this semantically distinctive information in order to make an informed decision about

increases the need for this type of information in order to show the fact that meaning is imbedded in culture. Wierzbicka has noted that this problem is particularly significant when the cultures to be bridged are more distant, because "the intuitive link between a word and a concept is missing, and a full definition is the only way of ensuring true understanding of the cultural universe encoded in the language's lexicon" (1985:5). The full definition that she refers to should include relevant cultural background information. The question to be dealt with is really one of context. Where does it begin and to what extent does it influence the understanding of text? How much of it should be reflected in a lexicon? Werth summarizes the problem as follows:

People who are interested in linguistic systems usually stop at the text, because they find the whole notion of tackling something as immense as context more than a little bit scary. There is too much of it, it is very complicated, and linguists have traditionally found great difficulty in knowing where to start (1999:3).

Yet, it should also be assumed that the text provides the clues for the analysis of the context and the extent to which elements from the context enlighten a better understanding of the text. This latter point is largely determined by the distance that exists between the source and receptor cultures in the communication event.

The movement into the direction of dictionaries that take the existence of semantic domains seriously is a positive development, because they seek to reflect the frameworks that exist in cognitive structures of various cultures. However, the way in which these domains are defined and the criteria that are applied in many lexicons leave much room for discussion as was already demonstrated above. The main problem that remains in all efforts is the fact that the perspective from which semantic domains are defined remains basically etic by choosing one's criteria on the basis of external factors, such as linguistic categories or even one's theological inclination. In such cases the criteria that are used in order to come to a degree of categorization are those of the researcher and not those of the users of the language. This is not necessarily problematic as long as this is clearly stated, so that the user of the lexicon is aware of this position, so as to take it into consideration.

At the same time it is also obvious that prototype theory provides sufficient grounds for a different approach. The fact that biblical Hebrew presents an extra problem in this regard is generally recognized. We are talking about "an ancient language with only a limited text corpus requiring a significant amount of interpretation that cannot be verified for lack of native speakers" (De Blois, 2000:8). This should lead Hebrew lexicographers to an approach that fully utilizes all devices that are offered by the written text. As the analysis in Chapter 5 has demonstrated poetry

should play an important role in the analytical process that leads to the definitions of semantic domains in Hebrew. Other important clues provided by the text are antonyms as well as synonyms within or without parallel structures. The above survey of lexicons and dictionaries has demonstrated that such natural "handles" that are offered by the text are not fully utilized and often completely neglected. This inevitably leads to imposition of categories by the researcher, which in turn again leads to the conclusion that the semantic structures that have been developed are not necessarily those that may have existed in the minds of the authors/speakers of the source language, but rather those that have been imposed by the author of the lexicon.

3.1.2. Suggestions for Hebrew lexicography

In order to avoid the imposition of categories that are alien to the cognitive structure of the language and culture I make some suggestions. They are probably not ready for immediate implementation, but rather point at areas for further research.

1. Comprehensive world view analyses of the entire Old Testament have to be made on the basis of a flexible model such as the one developed in Chapter 3. Flexibility of the model is essential. Given the large time span that has to be covered it is most likely that we are not talking about one fixed world view system that is typical for the entire Old Testament period. Different world view analyses will probably have to be made. Within the Old Testament there are differences that coincide with certain historic developments and these need to be taken into consideration. As I already indicated in Chapter 3, there should also be room for the application of larger variety of world view variables than those that were applied in that analysis. The exact variables are dependent on the prevailing world view system within a given period, or within a given piece of biblical literature.
2. It follows from the previous point that the cultural analyses should be characterized by flexibility and should not result in a closed system that cuts off alternative interpretations. However, these alternatives should always be based on clues that are offered by the various texts.
3. It nearly goes without saying that a lexicon that has cross-cultural communication as its main objective should use definitions and not simply provide glosses or translation equivalents.
4. In lexicography there should be recognition that extra-linguistic information is irreplaceable in cross-cultural communication. This information is just as much part of

the semantic contents of a lexical item as the purely linguistic and/or semantic data that are part of lexicographic description.

5. Extra-linguistic information in lexicography should be offered in a distinctive format, so that the reader can easily recognize it. It should help the reader to get a complete picture of the cultural environment in which a particular lexical item functions and should be understood.
6. Semantic information should not limit itself to one specific lexical item in isolation. It should also provide links to related lexical items. The lexicon should provide the information in terms of prototypes, so that the reader gets an impression of the entire "constellation" in which a lexical item plays a certain role. It should also inform the reader about the centrality (or, on the other hand, the more or less peripheral position) of a specific lexical item within a semantic domain. VG has made an attempt to do this by listing the various lexical items in one domain. The main problem there was the inconsistency in the type of information that was provided to the reader, as well as the absence of information about the exact nature of the mutual relationships between lexical items within the domain. The latter deficiency was also noted in DB, while there it is also not clear on the basis of what criteria a lexical item is included in a certain domain. In JW an attempt was made to account for these relationships, but here the information was erratic.
7. The lexicon should also explain what the exact differences are between the lexical items that belong to one semantic domain. This can be done by providing definitions, but a variety of representational formats should be considered. Continuums and other figures such as used in Chapter 5 can also be helpful tools in a lexicon.
8. A lexicon should consistently provide statistical information, such as is done in some of the entries in JW. This is particularly important in cross-cultural communication, since it enables the reader to make comparisons and discover patterns in the order in which lexical items are employed in the text.
9. A lexicon should also make reference to the frequent occurrence of antonyms. These are often very helpful in defining the semantic contents of a lexical item.
10. In terms of format DB has set a good standard. A printed edition based on alphabetical ordering probably works best, as long as the cross-links to the various domains are clearly expressed. As is also suggested by DB, an electronic copy with the right links complements a good lexicon and enhances the accessibility of a lexicon considerably. It can also provide for easy cross-linking and global searches. If this electronic tool can be

linked to the text of the Hebrew Bible the reader gains maximum benefit from the electronic tools.

3.1.3. A proposal

It should again be noted that the proposal is only based on the analysis of the book of Isaiah as described in this study. It is therefore limited to the six lexical items that were described in some detail: אָנָן, חַטָּא, עֶוֹן, פֶּשַׁע, רָעָע, and רָשָׁע. These restrictions are an indication of the preliminary nature of the proposal. Additional world view analyses of the entire Hebrew Bible will certainly lead to modifications of this proposal. Furthermore, the number of lexical items discussed under the domain of negative moral behaviour is not exhaustive, as was also shown in Section 2.2.7. of Chapter 5. Given the fact that this is a dictionary entry for the domain of negative moral behaviour only it is clear that no semantic description will be provided for those meanings of the given lexical items that are not relevant for this domain.

With regard to Hebrew lexicography, however, it is necessary to make some preliminary remarks that apply to the practice of writing a dictionary. On the basis of the analysis of the book of Isaiah, the question arises as to what essential information should be provided in a dictionary? In Section 1 of this chapter it was already pointed out that the question of inclusion of extra-linguistic information in a dictionary is a widely debated issue in lexicography. The issues will not be repeated here. However, as was also demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, in a semantic description of אָנָן, חַטָּא, עֶוֹן, פֶּשַׁע, רָעָע, and רָשָׁע extra-linguistic issues can only be left out at the expense of clarity and completeness of the semantic description. For example, the world view analysis has clearly demonstrated that two sub-domains exist within the domain of negative moral behaviour in the book Isaiah (see Figure 20). In sub-domain A (פֶּשַׁע, חַטָּא, עֶוֹן) the variable *Causality* is essential, while in sub-domain B (אָנָן, רָעָע, רָשָׁע) the variable *Self-Other* is a crucial semantic component. None of the present dictionaries makes any reference to this crucial point. If this distinction between the sub-domains is not reflected in lexicographic description it is not well possible to provide a semantically adequate description of the lexical items concerned. Similarly, the prototypical structure of semantic domains also needs to be recognized in lexicographic description. This too is an essential element in the structure of the semantic domain that was analyzed in this study.

The above points should have some implications for the writing of a dictionary. It was demonstrated in this chapter that none of the dictionaries provides a fully satisfactory description of the lexical items from the point of view of world view analysis, although it should be noted that DB shows the most consistent approach (the problems in the theoretical background will not

be repeated here). His approach in terms of linking lexical items consistently to semantic domains is commendable. However, the lack of a coherent organizing principle with regard to lexical and contextual semantic domains makes it impossible to recognize a prototypical structure in the domains. My main suggestion in this area would therefore be to visualize the domain structure in a dictionary that is based on semantic domains by making the domains the main organizing principle. The domains can then be discussed coherently, showing the mutual relationships and semantic differences, while the degree of typicality can then also be visualized. The use of figures, such as in my analyses (see figures 15 –19) would be a helpful tool in the lexicographic description of the domain of negative moral behaviour. The individual entries of the lexical items should make reference to the synonymous and antonymous relationships of each of the lexical items. J&W and VG made an attempt into this direction, but in both cases consistency and coherence in missing in their approaches (see Sections 2.3 and 2.4. of Chapter 6).

In practical terms this means that the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour should be described as a coherent unit (bearing in mind the restrictions formulated at the beginning of this paragraph).

A provisional (and at this point incomplete) proposal looks as follows. The entry is based on the assumption that the introduction provides information about the use and meaning of some technical terms, such as prototype, world view variables (with a list and brief description of the variables), and semantic scope. The use of italics under **Definitions** reflects extra-linguistic information.

Negative moral behaviour

Human behaviour that constitutes an offense against culturally accepted rules of ultimately divine origin.

Lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour

רשע, רעע, פשע, עון, חטא, און

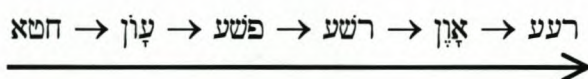
Statistics

The following diagram gives a complete overview of all relevant statistical data. The superscript numbers refer to the colon in which the lexical item occurs in a particular parallelism.

Reference	חטא	עון	פשע	און	רעע	רשע
1.4	x ¹	x ²			x ³	
1.28	x ²		x ¹			
5.18	x ²	x ¹				
6.7	x ²	x ¹				
13.11		x ²			x ¹	
14.20-21		x ²			x ¹	
27.9	x ²	x ¹				
31.2				x ²	x ¹	
40.2	x ²	x ¹				
43.24	x ¹	x ²				
43.25	x ²		x ¹			
43.27	x ¹		x ²			
44.22	x ²		x ¹			
50.1		x ¹	x ²			
53.5		x ²	x ¹			
53.12	x ²		x ¹⁻³			
55.7				x ²		x ¹
58.1	x ²		x ¹			
59.2	x ²	x ¹				
59.7				x ²	x ¹	
59.12 ^a	x ²		x ¹			
59.12 ^b		x ²	x ¹			
Other combinations	2	1	3	5	9	3
Total in synonymous parallelism	16	13	14	8	14	4
Total in Isaiah	26	24	20	12	31	16

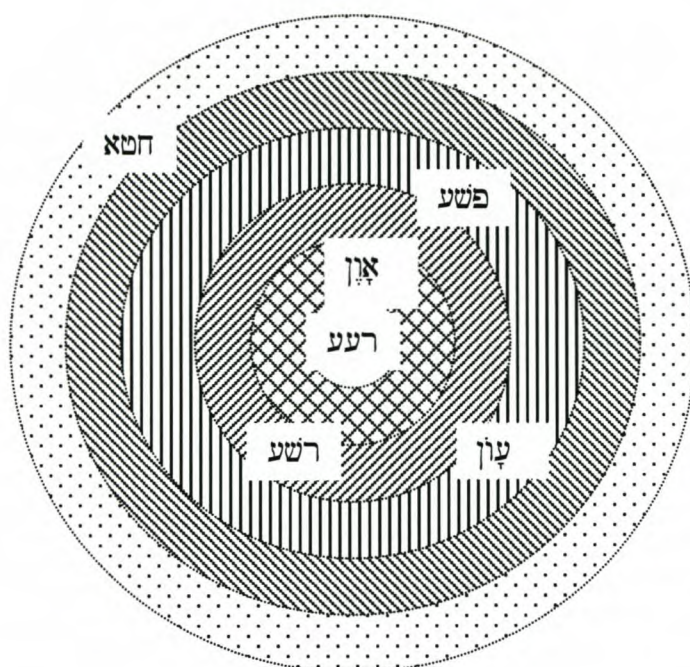
Prototypical structure of the domain

The domain shows a rigid prototypical structure as shown in the following diagram that moves from more to less prototypical. This rigid structure is particularly prominent in the parallel structures of Hebrew poetry (e.g. Isa 1.28; 5.18; 13.11; 31.2).



Semantic scope within the domain

The following diagram visualizes the semantic scope of און, חטא, עון, פשע, רעע, and רשע. The width of the circle in which the lexical item occurs is an indication of the semantic scope of that particular word.



Antonyms

The following antonyms occur:

און	↔ מִשְׁפָּט (Isa 59.7-8); צדק (Isa 33.15; 59.4); שְׁלוֹם (Isa 59.7-8)
חטא	↔ מִשְׁפָּט (Isa 1.27-28); צדק (Isa 1.27-28; 64.4)
עון	↔ צדק (Isa 53.11; 64.5)
רעע	↔ מִשְׁפָּט (Isa 32.7; 59.7-8; 59.15); יֵטֵב (Isa 1.16-17; 3.9-10; 5.20; 7.15,16; 41.23); זָכָה (Isa 1.16); שְׁלוֹם (Isa 45.7; 57.1-2; 59.7-8); אֲמִתּוֹת (Isa 59.15)
רשע	↔ צדק (Isa 3.10-11; 5.23; 11.4; 26.10; 50.8-9; 54.17); שְׁלוֹם (Isa 48.22; 57.20.21)

Domain analysis

The domain of negative moral behaviour can be divided into two sub-domains.

Sub-domain A: חטא, עון, פשע > directly (not exclusively) linked to *Causality*.

Sub-domain B: און, רעע, רשע > directly (not exclusively) linked to *Self-Other*.

Definitions

Sub-domain A

חטא

Non-specified intentional or unintentional negative moral behaviour of a very general nature for which a person is held responsible.

Co-occurs very frequently with a variety of generic synonyms from the same domain, but mainly from sub-domain A.

It may cause רעע (Isa 3.9)

Occasionally linked with Self-Other (Isa 1.4, 18; 6.7; 13.9; 27.9; 30.1), *Space* (Isa 1.4, 28; 43.24) *and Time* (Isa 1.4; 43.24; 58.1).

Punishable by Causality (Isa 1.28; 5.18; 13.9; 33.14; 40.2; 42.24)

Forgivable by Causality (Isa 1.18; 6.7; 38.17; 43.25; 44.22; 53.12)

Implies state of uncleanness (Isa 1.4, 18; 6.7; 13.9)

Improper worship (Isa 1.4, 18, 28; 27.9; 30.1; 31.7; 43.24; 58.1)

עוֹן

Usually intentional negative moral behaviour, usually of a somewhat general nature for which a person is held responsible.

Co-occurs frequently with a large variety of generic synonyms from the same domain, both sub-domains A and B. Also regularly refers to explicit kinds of negative moral behaviour (Isa 13.11; 14.21; 26.21; 57.17; 59.3).

Occasionally linked with Self-Other (Isa 1.4; 5.18; 13.11; 27.9; 50.1; 59.3), *Space* (Isa 1.4; 14.21; 26.21; 33.24; 43.24; 50.1, 65.7), *and rarely with Time* (Isa 1.4; 65.7).

Punishable by Causality (Isa 13.11; 33.24; 40.2; 53.5,6; 64.6(7), 8(9)).

Forgivable by Causality (Isa 6.7).

Implies state of uncleanness (Isa 1.4; 6.7; 59.3; 64.5(6)).

Causes sickness (Isa 33.24)

Improper worship (Isa 27.9; 43.24).

פֶּשַׁע

Explicitly intentional negative moral behaviour of a somewhat general nature for which a person is held responsible. In some contexts used to identify a kind of חַטָּאת (Isa 53.12 – 2x; 58.1) or a kind of עוֹן (Isa 59.13, 20).

Co-occurs very frequently with a variety of generic synonyms from the same domain, but exclusively from sub-domain A.

Often specifically and intentionally directed against *Causality* or the rules set by *Causality* in order to cause a breach (Isa 3.3; 24.20; 43.25 (?); 48.8; 53.8; 57.4; 59.13, 20; 66.24).

Rarely linked with other world view variables: *Self-Other* (Isa 50.1), *and Space* (Isa 57.4; 59.20).

Punishable by Causality (Isa 1.28; 53.5, 8).

Forgivable by Causality (Isa 43.25; 44.22).

SUB-DOMAIN B

אָוֶן

A deliberate form of negative moral behaviour of a somewhat general nature.

Co-occurs occasionally with synonyms from sub-domain B only.

Often an implicit indication of the negative effect of אָוֶן on the relationship with Causality (Isa 1.13; 10.1; 29.20; 31.2; 32.6; 55.7).

Rarely linked with other world view variables: *Time* (Isa 1.13), *and Space* (Isa 1.13).

Punishable by Causality (Isa 31.2).

Often associated with lack of justice and oppression of the poor and needy (Isa 10.1; 29.20; 31.2 (?); 32.6; 58.9; 59.4, 6,7).

רָעָה

A deliberate form of negative moral behaviour of various degrees of specificity, regularly associated with active involvement in specific kinds of unacceptable behaviour (Isa 1.4; 1.16; 3.9; 7.5; 9.15(16); 13.11; 14.20; 32.7; 33.5; 47.10; 59.7; 65.12; 66.4).

Co-occurs frequently with a large variety of synonyms in both sub-domains as well as explicit references to types of negative moral behaviour.

Can be the result of חַטָּאת (Isa 3.9) and רָשָׁע (Isa 3.11).

Antonyms play a dominant role (Isa 3.9, 11; 5.20; 7.15, 16; 32.7; 33.15; 41.23; 45.7; 56.2; 57.1; 59.7, 15).

Often linked with Causality (Isa 1.4, 16; 3.9,11; 5.20; 7.5; 9.15(16); 11.9; 31.2; 45.7; 59.15; 65.25), *sometimes to Space* (Isa 1.4; 11.9; 14.20; 65.25), *and rarely to Time* (Isa 1.4; 56.2).
Punishable by Causality (13.11; 31.12).

רשע

A deliberate form of negative moral behaviour with a strongly individualistic and a fairly exclusive character which causes it to occur mainly in isolation.

Often associated with lack of justice in leadership (Isa 5.23; 14.5; 26.10; 58.4,6).

Few links with Causality (Isa 26.10; 55.7), *and Space* (Isa 13.11).

Figure 21: Proposed outline of dictionary entry for negative moral behaviour

The degree of technicality in the terminology employed in Figure 21 may have to be reduced for practical purposes of usability by translators, or alternatively a clear introduction should be provided to the dictionary in which the terminology is explained.

The accessibility of a printed dictionary along the proposed lines could be problematic. This problem can easily be solved by providing an index in which all lexical items are listed alphabetically with references to the domain(s) in which they occur. If an electronic copy would be added, as proposed by DB for his dictionary, searching and cross-linking would be simple and straight-forward, while the semantic domain structure would still be visualized. This aspect is essential for the user.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

1. Introduction

The present study has pursued a number of theoretical lines. The first one is in the area of linguistics with a particular focus on componential analysis of meaning. The theoretical origins of CA were discussed and evaluated. Some suggestions were investigated in order to develop CA as an instrument that can also be applied in the area of cognitive linguistics.

The second area of study is in world view theory and analysis with specific application of the modified world view analysis of Kearney (1984) in the book of Isaiah. The results of this analysis are linked with semantic analysis in the domain of negative moral behaviour in order to evaluate the possibilities of applying world view analysis as a means of identifying semantic components of lexical items that belong to this semantic domain. This leads to a detailed description of the semantic domain in which it is demonstrated that world view is a distinctive feature in semantic analysis.

Finally, against the background of the results of the preceding analyses, some existing and one proposed Hebrew dictionary are evaluated. This results in some general recommendations for Hebrew lexicography.

Each of the preceding chapters has already described some of the implications of the integrated approach that is proposed in this study. In this chapter I will summarize the most important conclusions and recommendations in the three above-mentioned areas, componential analysis of meaning, world view analysis and Hebrew lexicography. This will be followed by some observations of a more general nature.

2. Componential analysis of meaning

The emphasis of the present study in the application of componential analysis of the meaning of lexical items referring to negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah was clearly on the world view aspects involved in a comprehensive semantic description. Numerous examples of other componential analyses with emphasis on other than world view aspects were referred to in Chapter 2. Here I summarize the most important conclusions in view of the issues raised in the introductory chapter:

- Componential analysis of meaning in its original form, as developed by Nida (1979), is too narrow a basis for a comprehensive semantic analysis from a cognitive perspective. The 'either – or' approach in terms of semantic components excludes the possibility of

including graded components of meaning. The possibilities of satisfactorily describing a prototype constellation with central and more peripheral lexical items that are linked together on the basis of certain mutually inclusive and/or exclusive semantic features are absent. The criteria for semantic distinctions are those of the researcher only (etic). If relevant cultural aspects have to be included in semantic description an emic perspective is also essential. The way native speakers categorize their language provides an indication for relevant semantic distinctive features which are not necessarily dichotomous. 'Complementarity' (particularly evident in Hebrew parallelism) plays an important role with respect to the dynamics within one semantic domain. Another significant semantic feature to be considered is antonymy. Traditional CA is unable to incorporate these features. There is no reason to assume that the role of these features is less significant from the perspective of the language user than those that suit a description in terms of dichotomies.

- The analysis of world view variables in the book of Isaiah has demonstrated that componential analysis of meaning as a heuristic tool can be used to provide semantic description if CA is developed beyond its traditional scope of dichotomous feature analysis. An important characteristic of this development is the use of a diversity of representational formats. Figures 14 – 20 show that this diversity in representational formats is essential in the representation of the variety in semantic features that play a role in the use of lexical items belonging to one semantic domain. This also shows that a variety of analytical approaches is necessary to avoid unjustified emphasis on only one semantic aspect. CA should therefore not be prescriptive in terms of format and features that need to be included. Both format and features will be dependent on the semantic nature of the lexical items and the purpose for which the semantic analysis is carried out. Chapter 6 has demonstrated that in lexicons intended for cross-cultural communication the cultural dimension in semantic description is an essential aspect.
- It is well possible to include insights from cognitive linguistics in CA as long as the conditions mentioned under the previous point are met. As Geeraerts (1989:588) has stated, "there can be no semantic description without some sort of decompositional analysis." There is no reason to assume that world view variables cannot be regarded as components of meaning. They therefore ought to be part of a semantic description that claims some degree comprehensiveness. It was demonstrated in Chapter 6 that without the inclusion of a world view analysis of the lexical items under investigation no distinctive semantic analysis would have been possible. This is not to suggest that world

view variables are the only semantic components that matter. The extent to which world view variables play an essential role in semantic analysis will fully depend on the semantic nature of the lexical items. Other variables that may have to be considered here are distance between cultures both in terms of time and world view.

- A cognitive focus in semantic analysis is essential, especially in view of the fact that description in terms of prototypes appears to deliver the best results in terms of cross-cultural communication (see Chapters 2 and 5). A cognitive focus enables the researcher to describe the links and contrasts between the lexical items that belong to one semantic domain or other related or contrastive semantic domains. It also allows the researcher to delineate the domains in a more precise way and in such a manner that it reflects cognitive structures from the perspective of the language user. A creative application of CA (both in terms of representational diversity and in terms of kinds of semantic components) visualizes these points clearly.

3. World view analysis

As already indicated in the previous section, the emphasis of this study was on the value of world view analysis as an essential feature of semantic description. The main contributions of world view analysis can be summarized as follows:

- World view analysis adds a crucial feature to semantic analysis. Without it a distinctive analysis of the lexical items in the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour in the book of Isaiah would not have been possible. The world view analysis also proves the point that world view constitutes an integrated part of the semantic description of lexical items.
- A proper world view analysis needs to be based on variables and not on universals, as was suggested by Kearney (1984). The use of variables in a flexible constellation as was applied in the world view analysis of the book of Isaiah has demonstrated that the variable of *Causality* is central to the world view that underlies the book of Isaiah. This is in contrast with Kearney's static model (Figure 7) where *Relationship* is central. The analysis of the book of Isaiah has demonstrated that *Relationship* only plays a role subordinate to *Causality*. It is my assumption that in a world view analysis of other texts other variables may come to the fore. It also seems possible that other variables may have to be introduced in a different cultural environment. However, additional research in the area of applying and further refining this world view analysis tool is necessary, before firm conclusions can be drawn.

- Given the fact that cultural issues in general and world view issues in particular are considered to be crucial in the exegesis of the text the Old Testament (see Chapter 3, Section 1) the proposed method of world view analysis is a valuable addition to the 'tool box' of the Old Testament exegete. Chapter 4 has demonstrated that a careful world view analysis along the lines proposed and practiced in this study provides the exegete with a good insight into the cultural system that to some degree determines and therefore certainly influences the cognitive processes that underlie Old Testament thinking and behaviour.

4. Hebrew lexicography

The combination of componential analysis of meaning with an integrated world view analysis has yielded results that are important for cross-cultural communication. Chapter 6 has focused on this aspect, evaluating some Hebrew lexicons from the perspective of world view analysis. These are some of the conclusions:

- The traditional lexicons show a degree of one-sidedness in their semantic description. Matters of culture, world view, as well as contextual issues do not find a place in semantic description, even where semantic description proceeds beyond the point of providing English glosses for Hebrew lexical items. This puts serious limitations on the usability of the lexicons for the purpose of cross-cultural communication and, more in particular, translation.
- The lexicons that make use of modern insights in linguistics still have a fairly narrow basis in terms theoretical foundation. Structuralism largely dictates the categories on which semantic domains are based. The broad categories of *Objects*, *Events* and *Relationals* (de Blois, 2000) are the categories of the researcher, not of the language users. A cognitive approach should give precedence to cognitive structures as they can be identified in the mind of the language users. This is a painstaking process, as was demonstrated in this study. Yet it may lead to results that show the typical cognitive structures that characterize a culture and its underlying world view. A lexicon that attempts to accomplish this, shows the cultural traits that are particular for the language that it seeks to describe.
- A lexicon that lacks in prototypical semantic description is less relevant for cross-cultural communication. This type of description will be particularly visible in the description of the composition of semantic domains and the structure of these domains in terms of typicality. Description of the coherence of the semantic domains as well as the way

various lexical items are linked (in different semantic relationships) should be included in the lexicon (see Figure 21). This shows the translator the areas where semantic connections and overlaps occur.

5. General observations

In the preceding sections, as well as at various other places in this study it has been indicated that further research is necessary in some areas. Furthermore, there are some points that need to be considered in more general terms with regard to the analyses that have been described in this study.

- The emic—etic dichotomy has been referred to at a number of points. With regard to a realistic description of the world view system that underlies a culture an emic view point is essential, so as not to impose categories of the researcher. Given the fact that the Old Testament culture(s) that we seek to describe is/are not accessible other than through a limited number of texts of which we are not always sure how and why they have been preserved as they are, and the fact that we cannot refer back to active participants in those cultures a careful weighing of the evidence provided by the texts is essential. To what extent is our analysis of the texts determined by the tools we use to carry out the analysis? Are we led by the clues provided by the text, or does the analytical approach that we practice presume a certain outcome? This is an area that needs to be researched in more detail. For the sake of faithful cross-cultural communication the danger should be avoided that texts are read in terms and categories that are imposed on the text, rather than emanating from it.
- Another area that needs attention is the relationship between cognition and categorization on the basis of written texts only. Does the development from orality to a written text have an impact on issues involved in cognition and categorization in its relationship with culture and its underlying world view? Has the development from orature to literature had an impact on these aspects?
- Fine-tuning of world view analysis as a tool in exegesis also needs to be researched. I have argued that the choice of variables that are described in a world view analysis may vary on the basis of the cultural environment in which the analysis is carried out. To avoid imposing variables that reflect the cultural inclination of the researcher more research needs to be done to determine the rationale for the application and/or inclusion of certain variables in the analytical process.

Finally, the study has made clear that an integrated approach of semantic analysis of lexical items in biblical Hebrew leads to tangible results in the area of cross-cultural communication. The example of analysis of the semantic domain of negative moral behaviour shows that the world view aspect cannot be omitted in a clear semantic description of the various lexical items. More research in other semantic domains and in other parts of the Old Testament should determine the direction into which this tool can be developed further.

References cited

- Abma, R. 1997. "Travelling from Babylon to Zion: Location and its function in Isaiah 49—55." In *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*. Vol. 74, pp. 3-28.
- Allwood, J. & Gärdenfors, P., eds. 1998. *Cognitive semantics: Meaning and cognition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Alter, R. 1985. *The art of biblical poetry*. New York: Basic Books.
- Baker, M. 1996. *In other words: A coursebook on translation*. London: Routledge.
- Barbour, I.G. 1974. *Myths, models and paradigms*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Barnwell, K. 1974. *Introduction to semantics and translation*. High Wycombe: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Barnwell, K. 1986. *Bible translation: An introduction course in translation principles*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Barr, J. 1987. *The semantics of biblical language*. London: SCM Press.
- Barton, J. 1995. *Isaiah 1-39*. (Old Testament guides). Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Becker, U. 1999. "Jesajaforschung (Jes 1-39)." In *Theologische Rundschau*. Vol. 64:1, pp. 1-37.
- Becking, B. 1999. "Continuity and discontinuity after the Exile: Some introductory remarks." In Becking, B. & Korpel, M.C.A. eds., *The crisis of Israelite religion: Transformation of religious tradition in exilic and post-exilic times*. Leiden: Brill.
- Beekman, J. & Callow, J. 1974. *Translating the Word of God*. Michigan: Zondervan.
- Berges, U. 1999. "Sion als thema in het boek Jesaja: Nieuwe exegetische benadering en theologische gevolgen." In *Tijdschrift voor theologie*. Vol. 39, pp. 118-138.
- Berlin, B. O. & Kay, P. D. 1969. *Basic Color Terms*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Berlin, A. 1985. *The dynamics of biblical parallelism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Beuken, W.A.M. 1983. *Jesaja, deel IIb*. (De prediking van het Oude Testament). Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- Beuken, W.A.M. 1989a. *Jesaja, deel IIIa*. (De prediking van het Oude Testament). Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- Beuken, W.A.M. 1989b. *Jesaja, deel IIIb*. (De prediking van het Oude Testament). Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- Blenkinsopp, J. 1995. "The 'Servants of the Lord' in Third Isaiah: Profile of a pietistic group in the Persian epoch." In Gordon, R.P. ed., *"The place is too small for us": The Israelite prophets in recent scholarship*. Winowa Lake: Eisenbrauns.

- Blenkinsopp, J. 2000. *Isaiah 1—39: A new translation with introduction and commentary*. New York: The Anchor Bible Doubleday.
- Bosch, P. 1988. "On Presenting Lexical Meaning." In Hüllen, W. & Schulze, R., eds. *Understanding the lexicon: Meaning, sense and world knowledge in lexical semantics*, pp. 62-72. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Bratcher, R.G. & Reyburn, W.D. 1991. *A translator's handbook on Psalms*. New York: United Bible Societies.
- Bright, J. 1988. *A history of Israel*. London: SCM Press.
- Brown, F., Driver, S.R. & Briggs, C.A. 1951. *A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Brueggemann, W. 1998. *Isaiah 40-66*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Bussmann, H. 1996. *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*. London: Routledge.
- Bunn, J.T. 1986. "Sin, iniquity, transgression: What is the difference?" In *Biblical illustrator* Summer 1986, pp.77-79.
- Carroll, R.P. 1989. "Prophecy and society." In Clements, R.E. ed., *The world of ancient Israel: Sociological, anthropological and political perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carter, C.E. & Meyers, C.L., eds. 1996. *Community, identity, and ideology: Social science approaches to the Hebrew Bible*. Winowa Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Carter, C.E. 1996. "A discipline in transition: The contributions of the social sciences to the study of the Hebrew Bible." In Carter, C.E. & Meyers, C.L. eds. *Community, identity, and ideology: Social science approaches to the Hebrew Bible*. Winowa Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Casad, E.H. 1995. "Seeing it in more than one way." In Taylor, J.R. & MacLaury, R.E., eds. *Language and the cognitive construal of the world*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Childs, B.S. 1979. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Childs, B.S. 1993. *Biblical theology of the Old and New Testaments. Theological reflections on the Christian Bible*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Childs, B.S. 2001. *Isaiah*. (The Old Testament library). Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Clausner, T.C. & Croft, W. 1999. "Domains and image schemas." In *Cognitive linguistics*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 1-31.
- Clements, R.E. 1980. *Isaiah and the delivery of Jerusalem: A study of the interpretation of prophecy in the Old Testament*. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

- Clements, R.E. 1982. "The unity of the book of Isaiah." In *Interpretation*. Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, pp.117-129.
- Clements, R.E., ed. 1989. *The world of ancient Israel: Sociological, anthropological and political perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clements, R.E. 1996. *Old Testament prophecy: From oracle to canon*. Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Cornelius, I. 1994. "The visual representation of the world in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible." In *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*. Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 193-218.
- Corrigan, R. 1989. "Introduction linguistic and non-linguistic categorization: Structure and process." In Corrigan, R., Eckman, F. and Noonan, M., eds. *Linguistic categorization*, pp. 1-28. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Cruse, D.A. 1986. *Lexical semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cruse, D.A. 2000. *Meaning in language: An introduction to semantics and pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- D'Andrade, R. 1995. *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. In
- Deist, F.E. 1995. "The prophets: Are we heading for a paradigm switch?" In Gordon, R.P. ed., *The place is too small for us: The Israelite prophets in recent scholarship*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Delitzsch, 1976. *Isaiah*. (Commentary on the Old Testament in ten volumes, Vol. VII). Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans.
- de Blois, R. 2000. *Towards a new dictionary of biblical Hebrew based on semantic domains*. PhD dissertation. Amsterdam: Free University.
- de Blois, K.F. 1997. "Functional equivalence in the nineties: Tendencies in the application of functional equivalence principles in different parts of the world." In *UBS Bulletin* 182/183, pp. 21-30.
- de Regt, L.J. 1997. "Multiple meanings and semantic domains in some Biblical Hebrew lexicographical projects: the description of *zera* '.'" In *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*. Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 63-75.
- De Stadler, L.G. 1989. *Afrikaanse Semantiek*. Johannesburg: Southern Boekuitgewers.
- de Vaux, R. 1988, *Ancient Israel: Its life and institutions*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd.
- de Waard, J. 1997. *A handbook on Isaiah*. Textual criticism and the translator (Vol. 1). Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

- de Waard, J. & Nida E.A. 1986. *From one language to another: Functional equivalence in Bible translating*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson.
- Dirven, R. & Verspoor, M. 1998. *Cognitive exploration of language and linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Duhm, B. 1892. *Das Buch Jesaja*. (Handkommentar zum Alten Testament). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Duranti, A. 1997. *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eastman, C.M. 1990. *Aspects of language and culture*. Novato: Chandler & Sharp.
- Emmerson, G.I. 1992. *Isaiah 56-66*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Fantini, A.E. 1995. "Introduction—Language, culture and world view: Exploring the nexus." In *International journal for intercultural relations*. Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 143-153.
- Fillmore, C.J. & Atkins, B.T. 1992. "Toward a frame-based lexicon: The semantics of RISK and its neighbors." In Lehrer, A. & Kittay, E.F., eds., *Frames, fields, and contrasts: New essays in semantic and lexical organization*, 75-102. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Fohrer, G. 1962. "Jesaja 1 als Zusammenfassung der Verkündigung Jesajas." In *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Vol. 74, pp. 251-280.
- Foley, William A., 1997. *Anthropological Linguistics: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Frankfort, H. & A., Wilson, J.A., Jacobsen, T. & Irwin W.A. 1977. *The intellectual adventure of ancient man: An essay on speculative thought in the ancient Near East*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Fronzaroli, P. 1993. "Componential analysis." In *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 79-91.
- Gärdenfors, P. 1998. "Some tenets of cognitive semantics." In Allwood, J. & Gärdenfors, P., eds. *Cognitive semantics: Meaning and cognition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Geeraerts, D. 1986. *Woordbetekenis: Een overzicht van de lexicale semantiek*. Leuven: Acco.
- Geeraerts, D. 1988. "Katz revisited: Aspects of the history of lexical linguistics." In Werner Hülsen and Rainer Schulze, eds., *Understanding the lexicon: Meaning, sense and world knowledge in lexical semantics*, 23-35. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Geeraerts, D. 1989. "Prospects and problems of prototype theory." In *Linguistics*. Vol. 27, No. 27, pp. 587-612.
- Geeraerts, D. 1995. "Representational formats in cognitive semantics." In *Folia linguistica: Acta Societatis Linguisticae Europae*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 22-41.

- Geeraerts, D., Grondelaers, S. & Bakema, P. 1994. *The structure of lexical variation: Meaning, naming, and context*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geeraerts, D. & Grondelaers, S. 1995. "Looking back at anger: Cultural traditions and metaphorical patterns." In Taylor, J.R. & MacLaury, R.E., eds. *Language and the cognitive construal of the world*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geertz, C. 1966. "Religion as a cultural system." In M. Banton, ed. *Anthropological approaches to the study of religion*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Gillingham, S.E. 1994. *The poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gnuse, G. 1989. *Heilsgeschichte as a model for biblical theology: The debate concerning the uniqueness and significance of Israel's worldview*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Goddard, C. & Wierzbicka, A. 1994. *Semantic and lexical universals: theory and empirical findings*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Goerling, F. 2000. "Translation of 'grace' in Julia of Côte d'Ivoire." In *Notes on translation*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 3-33.
- Goodenough, W. 1957. "Cultural anthropology and linguistics." In P. Garvin, ed. *Report of the seventh annual round table meeting on linguistics and language study*. Monograph series on language and linguistics, No. 9. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University.
- Goodenough, W. 1965. "Yankee kinship terminology: A problem in componential analysis." In *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 67, No. 5 (Part 2), pp. 259-287.
- Gordon, R.P., ed. 1995. *The place is too small for us: The Israelite prophets in recent scholarship*. Winowa Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Gordon, R.P. 1995. "A story of two paradigm shifts." In Gordon, R.P. ed., *The place is too small for us: The Israelite prophets in recent scholarship*. Winowa Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Gottwald, N.K. 1980. *The tribes of Yahweh: A sociology of the religion of liberated Israel 1250-1050 B.C.E.* London: SCM Press.
- Gottwald, N.K. 1993. *The Hebrew Bible in its social world and in ours*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Gouws, R.H. 1989. *Leksikografie*. Pretoria: Academica.
- Grabbe, L.L. 1993. "Prophets, priests, diviners and sages in ancient Israel." In McKay, H.A. & Clines, D.J.A. eds., *Of prophets visions and the wisdom of sages*. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Graburn, N.H.H. 1988. "Tourism: The sacred journey." In Cole, J.B. ed., *Anthropology for the nineties: Introductory readings*. New York: The Free Press.
- Grandy, R.E. 1992. "Semantic fields, prototypes, and the lexicon." In Lehrer, A. & Kittay, E.F., eds., *Frames, fields, and contrasts: New essays in semantic and lexical organization*, 103-122. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.

- Gray, B.D. 1912. *A critical and exegetical commentary on the book of Isaiah*. Vol. I. (The international critical commentary). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Gressmann, H. 1914. "Die literarische Analyse Deuterjesajas." In *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Vol. XXXIV, pp. 254-97.
- Gumperz, J. & Levinson, S.C. 1996. "Introduction: linguistic relativity re-examined." In Gumperz, J. & Levinson, S.C. eds., *Rethinking linguistic relativity*, pp. 1-18. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gutt, E.A. 1991. *Translation and relevance: Cognition and context*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Hammond-Tooke, W.D. 1981. *Boundaries and belief: The structure of a Sotho worldview*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Hanson, P.D. 1975. *The dawn of apocalyptic*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Hanson, P.D. 1995. *Isaiah 40—66*. (Interpretation: A Bible commentary for preaching and teaching). Louisville: John Knox Press.
- Harker, W.J. 1999. "Inferential processing and the comprehension of literary texts." In *Journal of Literary Semantics*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 79-91.
- Harrison, R.K. 1975. *Introduction to the Old Testament with a comprehensive review of Old Testament studies and a special supplement on the Apocrypha*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans.
- Hatim, B. & Mason, I. 1997. *The translator as communicator*. London: Routledge.
- Hatim, B. 1997. *Communication across cultures: Translation theory and contrastive text linguistics*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
- Hermanson, E.A. 1995. *Metaphor in Zulu: Problems in the translating of biblical metaphor in the book of Amos*. Unpublished D. Lit. dissertation. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.
- Hiebert, P.G. 1983. *Cultural anthropology*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House.
- Hill, J.H. 1988. "Language, culture, and world view." In Newmeyer, F. ed., *Language; the socio-cultural context*. (Linguistics, the Cambridge survey, Vol. 4.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hill, J.H. & Mannheim, B. 1992. "Language and world view." In *Annual review of anthropology*. Vol. 21, pp. 381-406.
- Holladay, W.L. 1974. *A concise dictionary and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament, based upon the lexical work of Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Jackendoff, R. 1983. *Semantics and cognition*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

- Jackendoff, R. 1990. *Semantic structures*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Jackendoff, R. 1992. *Languages of the mind: Essays on mental representation*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Jackendoff, R. 1996. "Conceptual semantics and cognitive linguistics." In *Cognitive Linguistics*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 93-129.
- Jenni, E. & Westermann, C. 1997. *Theological lexicon of the Old Testament* (Volume 3). Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Johnson, M. 1987. *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Joüon, P. & Muraoka, T. 1993. *A grammar of biblical Hebrew*. (Part one: Orthography and phonetics. Part two: Morphology.) Rome: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico.
- Katan, D. 1999. *Translating cultures: An introduction for translators, Interpreters and mediators*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Katz, J.J. & Fodor, J.A. 1963. "The structure of a semantic theory." In *Language*, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 170-210.
- Kearney, M. 1984. *World view*. Novato: Chandler and Sharp.
- Kittay, E.F. & Lehrer, A. 1992. "Introduction." In Lehrer, A. & Kittay, E.F., eds., *Frames, fields, and contrasts: New essays in semantic and lexical organization*, 1-20. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Knierim, R. 1997. "אָוֵן 'āwen harm." In Jenni, E. & Westermann, C. 1997. *Theological lexicon of the Old Testament* (Volume 1). Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Knierim, R. 1997. "חָטָא ḥ t, 'to miss." In Jenni, E. & Westermann, C. 1997. *Theological lexicon of the Old Testament* (Volume 1). Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Knierim, R. 1997. "פְּשָׁע 'āwōn perversity." In Jenni, E. & Westermann, C. 1997. *Theological lexicon of the Old Testament* (Volume 2). Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Knierim, R. 1997. "פְּשָׁע peša' crime." In Jenni, E. & Westermann, C. 1997. *Theological lexicon of the Old Testament* (Volume 2). Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Koch, K. 1980. אָוֵן. In Botterweck, G.J. & Ringgren, H., eds. *Theological dictionary of the Old Testament* (Vol. IV). Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Koehler, L. & Baumgartner, W. 2001. *The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament*, CD-ROM edition. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Kövecses, Z. 1995. "Anger: Its language, conceptualization, and physiology." In Taylor, J.R. & MacLaury, R.E., eds. *Language and the cognitive construal of the world*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Kraft, C.H. 1987. *Anthropology text*. Unpublished manuscript. Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary.
- Kraft, C.H. 1988. *Christianity in culture: A study in dynamic biblical theologizing in cross-cultural perspective*. Maryknoll: Orbis books.
- Kugel, J.L. 1981. *The idea of biblical poetry: parallelism and its history*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- Kuntz, J.K. 1998. "Biblical Hebrew poetry in recent research, Part I." In *Currents in research: Biblical studies*, Vol. 6, pp. 31-64.
- Kuntz, J.K. 1999. "Biblical Hebrew poetry in recent research, Part II." In *Currents in research: Biblical studies*, Vol. 7, pp. 35-79.
- Laato, A. 1998. *"About Zion I will not be silent": The book of Isaiah as an ideological unity*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksel International.
- Langacker, R.W. 1987. *Foundations of cognitive grammar, i, theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Langacker, R.A. 1990. *Concept, image, and symbol: The cognitive basis of grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lang, B., ed. 1985. *Anthropological approaches to the Old Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Langness, L.L. 1987. *The study of culture*. Novato: Chandler & Sharp.
- Lau, W. 1994. *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56—66: Eine Untersuchung zu den literarischen Bezügen in den letzten elf Kapiteln des Jesajabuches*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Leach, E.R. 1966. *Rethinking anthropology*. New York: Humanities.
- Leech, G. 1983. *Principles of pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Lisowsky, G. 1981. *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Loewen, J.A. 1981. *The practice of translating: Drills for training translators*. London: United Bible Societies.
- Louw, J.P. 1991. "How do words mean – If they do?" In *Filologia Neotestamentaria*, Vol. IV, pp. 125-142.

- Louw, J.P. & Nida, E.A. 1988. *Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament based on semantic domains*. New York: United Bible Societies.
- Lowth, R. 1848. *Isaiah: A new translation with a preliminary dissertation, and notes, critical, philological, and explanatory*. London: William Tegg and Co. [original date of publication: 1778].
- Lübbe, J.C. 1994. "Old Testament translation and lexicographical practice." In *Journal for Semitics*, Vol. 6, No. 24, pp. 170-179.
- Lucy, J.A. 1992. *Language diversity and thought: a reformulation of the linguistic relativity hypothesis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Luzbetak, L.J. 1989. *The church and cultures: New perspectives in missiological anthropology*. Maryknoll: Orbis books.
- Luzbetak, L.J. 1990. "Contextual translation: The role of cultural anthropology." In Stine, P.S., ed. *Bibel translation and the spread of the Church: The last 200 years*, 108-119. Leiden: Brill.
- Lyons, J. 1968. *Introduction to theoretical linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, J. 1977. *Semanitics, Volume I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, J. 1995. *Linguistic semantics: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MacLaury, R.E. 1992. "From brightness to hue: An explanatory model of color-category evolution." In *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 33, pp.137-186.
- MacWhinney, B. 1989. "Competition and lexical categorization." In Corrigan, R., Eckman, F. and Noonan, M., eds. *Linguistic categorization*, pp. 1-28. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Malina, B.J. 1986. *Christian origins and cultural anthropology: Practical models for biblical interpretation*. Atlanta: John Knox Press.
- Matsuki, K. 1995. "Metaphors of anger in Japanese." In Taylor, J.R. & MacLaury, R.E., eds. *Language and the cognitive construal of the world*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Matthews, V.H. & Benjamin, D.C., eds. 1993. *Social world of ancient Israel 1250-587 BCE*. Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Mayes, A.D.H. 1989. *The Old Testament in sociological perspective*. London: Marshall Pickering.
- McKenzie, J.L. 1968. *Second Isaiah: A new translation with introduction and commentary*. New York: The Anchor Bible Doubleday.
- McNutt, P.M. 1999. *Reconstructing the society of ancient Israel*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

- Melugin, R.F. & Sweeney, M.A. eds. 1996. *New visions of Isaiah*. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press.
- Mendenhall, G.E. 1973. *The tenth generation: The origins of the biblical tradition*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Mey, J. 1993. *Pragmatics: An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Moore, C.C., Romney, A.K., Hsia, T. & Rusch, C.D. 1999. "The universality of the semantic structure of emotion terms: Methods for the study of inter- and intra-cultural variability." In *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 103, No. 3, pp. 529-546.
- Motyer, A. 1999. *Isaiah: An introduction and commentary*. Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press.
- Mowinckel, S. 1931. "Die Komposition des deuterocesajanischen Buches." In *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Vol. XLIX, pp. 87-111.
- Nida, E.A. 1964. *Toward a science of translating, with special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible translating*. Leiden: E.J. Brill
- Nida, E. A. 1979. *Componential analysis of meaning: An introduction to semantic structures*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Nida, E.A., 1990. *Message and mission: The communication of the Christian faith*. (Revised edition. Original date: 1960.) Pasadena: William Carey library.
- Nida, E.A. & Louw, J.P 1992. *Lexical semantics of the Greek New Testament: A supplement to the Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament based on semantic domains*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Nida, E.A. & Taber, C.R. 1969. *The theory and practice of translation*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Nord, C. 1997. *Translation as a purposeful activity: Functionalist approaches explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- O'Connor, M. 1980. *Hebrew verse structure*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Overholt, T.W. 1996. *Cultural anthropology and the Old Testament*. (Guides to biblical scholarship). Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Overholt, T.W. 1996(b). "Prophecy: The problem of cross-cultural comparison." In Carter, C.E. & Meyers, C.L. eds., *Community, identity, and ideology: Social Science approaches to the Hebrew Bible*, pp. 423-447. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Oswalt, J.N. 1998. *The book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66*. (The new international commentary on the Old Testament). Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans.
- Paas, S. 1998. *Schepping en oordeel: Een onderzoek naar scheppingsvoorstellingen bij enkele profeten uit de achtste eeuw voor Christus*. Heerenveen: Groen.
- Palmer, G.B. 1996. *Toward a theory of cultural linguistics*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Payne, G. 1994. "Parallelism in biblical Hebrew verse." In *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 126-140.
- Peeters, B., ed. 2000. *The lexicon-encyclopedia interface*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Person, R.E. 1999. "II Kings 18—20 and Isaiah 36—39: A text critical case study in the redaction history of the book of Isaiah." In *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Vol. 111, pp. 373-379.
- Petersen, D.L. & Richards, K.H. 1992. *Interpreting Hebrew poetry*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Pike, K.L. 1954. *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior*. Vol. I. Glendale: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Rosch, E. 1978. "Principles of categorization." In E. Rosch and B. Lloyd, eds., *Cognition and categorization*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Quinn, N. 1991. "The cultural basis of metaphor." In Fernandez, J.W. ed. *Beyond metaphor: the theory of tropes in anthropology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Radday, Y.T. 1973. *The unity of Isaiah in the light of statistical linguistics*. Hildesheim: Verlag Dr. H.A. Gerstenberg.
- Rendtorff, R. 1984. "Zur Komposition des Buches Jesaja. In *Vetus Testamentum*. Vol. 34, pp. 295-320.
- Rogerson, J.W. 1978. *Anthropology and the Old Testament*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Rogerson, J.W. 1989. "Anthropology and the Old Testament." In Clements, R.E. ed., *The world of ancient Israel: Sociological, anthropological and political perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saeed, J.I. 1997. *Semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Samuel, G. 1990. *Mind, body and culture: Anthropology and the biological interface*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sanders, J.A. 1984. *Canon and community: a guide to canonical criticism*. (Guides to biblical scholarship). Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Schökel, L.A. 1988. *A manual of Hebrew poetics*. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Seitz, C.R. 1988. *Reading and preaching the book of Isaiah*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press. ??
- Seitz, C.R. 1991. *Zion's final destiny: The development of the book of Isaiah. A reassessment of Isaiah 36-39*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Seitz, C.R. 1993. *Isaiah 1—39*. (Interpretation: A Bible commentary for teaching and preaching). Louisville: John Knox Press.

- Shaw, R.D. 1988. *Transculturation: The cultural factor in translation and other communication tasks*. Pasadena: William Carey Library.
- Silva, M. 1983. *Biblical words & their meaning: An introduction to lexical semantics*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Simkins, R.A. 1994. *Creator and creation: Nature in the worldview of ancient Israel*. Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Sinclair, M. 1995. "Fitting pragmatics into the mind: Some issues in mentalist pragmatics." In *Journal of pragmatics*, Vol. 23, pp. 509-539.
- Sinha, C. & Jensen de López, K. 2000. "Language, culture and the embodiment of spatial cognition." In *Cognitive linguistics*. Vol. 11, No. 1/2, pp. 17-41.
- Smalley, W.A. 1991. *Translation as mission: Bible translation in the modern missionary movement*. Macon: Mercer University Press.
- Smith, J.Z. 1982. *Imagining religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, W.R. 1894. *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*. London: Adam & Charles Black.
- Snell-Hornby, M. 1990. "Dynamics in meaning as a problem for bilingual lexicography." In Tomaszczyk, J. & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, B., eds. *Meaning and lexicography*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Snijders, L.A. 1985. *Jesaja, deel I*. (De prediking van het Oude Testament). Nijkerk: Callenbach.
- Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 1988. *Relevance: Communication and cognition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Spradley J.P. 1979. *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Spradley J.P. 1980. *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Stine, P.S. & Wendland, E.R. 1990. *Bridging the gap: African Traditional Religion and Bible translation*. New York: United Bible Societies.
- Stoebe, H.J. 1997. "רָעָה to be bad." In Jenni, E. & Westermann, C. 1997. *Theological lexicon of the Old Testament* (Volume 3). Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Svensén, B. 1993. *Practical lexicography: Principles and methods of dictionary-making*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Swanson, J. 1997. *A dictionary of biblical languages with semantic domains: Hebrew Old Testament*. Oak Harbor: Logos Research Systems.
- Sweeney, M.A. 1996. *Isaiah 1-39 with an introduction to prophetic literature*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans.

- Sweetser, E.E. 1987. "The definition of a lie: An examination of the folk models underlying a semantic prototype." In D. Holland & N. Quinn, eds. *Cultural models in language and thought*, pp. 43-66. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talstra, E. 2002. *Oude en nieuwe lezers: Een inleiding in de methoden van uitleg van het Oude Testament*. Kampen: J.H. Kok.
- Taylor, J.R. 1995. *Linguistic categorization: Prototypes in linguistic theory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Theelen, M. 1999. "Prototypes and the structure of the lexicon." In *Zeitschrift für Anglistik*, Vol. 47, No. 3, pp. 195-209.
- Tönnies, F. 1963. *Community and society*. New York: Harper & Row. [Translation of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, 1887.]
- Tymoczko, M. 2000. "Connecting the two infinite orders: Research methods in translation studies." Unpublished paper read at the conference on *Research Models in Translation Studies*, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology, Manchester, UK. April 2000.
- Ungerer, F. & Schmid, H.-J. 1996. *An introduction to cognitive linguistics*. London: Longman.
- van Eynde, F. 1981. "Some deficiencies of semantic feature analysis." In G. Hindelang & W. Zillig, eds. *Sprache: Verstehen und Handeln. Akten des 15. Linguistischen Kolloquiums Münster 1980. Band 2*, 3-13. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- van der Merwe, C.H.J., Naudé J.A. & Kroeze J.H. 1999. *A biblical Hebrew reference grammar*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Vanderkam, J.C. 1992. "Calendars: Ancient Israelite and early Jewish." In Freedman, D.N. ed., *The Anchor Bible dictionary* (Part I). New York: Doubleday.
- van der Toorn, K. 1985. *Sin and sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia: A comparative study*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- VanGemeren, W.A. (ed.) 2001. *New international dictionary of Old Testament theology and exegesis* (Version 2.8). Grand Rapids: Zondervan Interactive.
- van Leeuwen, C. 1997. "רשע 'to be impious/guilty.'" In Jenni, E. & Westermann, C. 1997. *Theological lexicon of the Old Testament* (Volume 3). Peabody: Hendrickson.
- van Steenberg, G.J. 1999. "The semantic domain of negative moral behaviour in parallelism in Isaiah." In *The Bible translator*. Vol. 50, No. 3, pp. 314-323.
- Vermeulen, J. 1989. "L'unité du livre d'Isaïe." In Vermeulen, J. ed., *Le livre d'Isaïe: Les oracles et leurs lectures unité et complexité*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Vriezen, Th. C. 1961. *De literatuur van Oud-Israël*. Wassenaar: Servire.

- Waltke, B. & O'Connor, M. 1990. *An introduction to biblical Hebrew syntax*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Watson, W.A.E. 1984. *Classical Hebrew poetry: A guide to its techniques*. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Watts, J.D.W. 1985. *Isaiah 1-33*. (Word biblical commentary, Vol. 33). Waco: Word.
- Watts, J.D.W. 1987. *Isaiah 34-66*. (Word biblical commentary, Vol. 34). Waco: Word.
- Weber, M. 1952. *Ancient Judaism*. Illinois: Free Press. [Translation of *Das antike Judentum*, 1917-19.]
- Wendland, E.R. 1987. *The cultural factor in Bible translation: A study in communicating the Word of God in a Central African cultural context*. London: United Bible Societies.
- Wendland, E.R. 1998. *Analyzing the Psalms*. Winowa Lake: Eisenbrauns/Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Wendland, E.R. & Nida, E.A. 1985. "Lexicography and Bible translating." In Louw, J.P. (ed.) *Lexicography and translation, with special reference to Bible translation*. Cape Town: Bible Society of South Africa.
- Werth, P. 1999. *Text worlds: Representing conceptual space in discourse*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Whorf, B.L. 1956. "Gestalt technique of stem composition in Shawnee." In Carroll, J.B. ed., *Language, thought and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Wierzbicka, A. 1985. *Lexicography and conceptual analysis*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.
- Wierzbicka, A. 1991. *Cross-cultural pragmatics: The semantics of human interaction*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wierzbicka, A. 1996. *Semantics: primes and universals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wildberger, H. 1972. *Jesaja 1-12*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Wildberger, H. 1978. *Jesaja 13-27*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Wildberger, H. 1982. *Jesaja 28-39*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Wildberger, H. 1984. *Die Nachfahren des Propheten und ihre Verkündigung, der Text*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Williamson, H.G.M. 1993. "First and last in Isaiah." In McKay, H.A. & Clines, D.J.A. eds., *Of prophets visions and the wisdom of sages*. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Young, E.J. 1965. *The book of Isaiah*. (The new international commentary on the Old Testament). Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans.

CONTEXT: See this Section, under 50.9 for a discussion of the *hiphil* stem of רשע. In this context too, there is a contrast with a form of צדק. Similarly the *hiphil* stem of רשע can be interpreted as unacceptable behaviour that positions someone outside the normal standards.

WVI: As under Isa 50.9.

55.7: רשע adjective, masculine singular

יֵעֹזֵב רָשָׁע דַּרְכּוֹ וְאִישׁ אֶן מַחֲשַׁבְתּוֹ
וְיָשָׁב אֶל־יְהוָה וִירַחֲמֵהוּ
וְאֶל־אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי־יִרְבֶּה לְסִלּוֹחַ:

let the wicked forsake their way,
and the unrighteous their thoughts;
let them return to the LORD, that he may have mercy on
them,
and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

CONTEXT: See Section 3.4. of this chapter, under Isa 55.7. The parallel use of רשע with אֶן is a regular example of co-occurrence. This is an explicit case of a breach with the LORD. It seems that רשע in this context relates more to actual behaviour (דַּרְכּוֹ), while אֶן has a more spiritual/mental slant.

WVI: The distance between *Causality* and the people is emphasized in this context. There is no exact description of the semantic content of רשע, but it is clear that it does affect the *Relationship* with *Causality*.

57.20: וְהָרָשָׁעִים adjective, masculine plural

וְהָרָשָׁעִים כִּי־מִיָּם נִגְרָשׁ כִּי הִשְׁקַט
לֹא יוּכַל וַיִּגְרָשׁוּ מִמִּיּוֹ רֶפֶשׁ וְטִיט:

But the wicked are like the tossing sea
that cannot keep still;
its waters toss up mire and mud.

CONTEXT: There is an apparent contrast between the ideal of the LORD, שְׁלוֹם שְׁלוֹם in verse 19 and those involved in רשע. They will not share in the שְׁלוֹם that the LORD provides.

WVI: Other than a breach with *Causality* no conclusions can be drawn.

57.21: See 48.28 of this Section.

58.4: רשע Noun, masculine singular

הֵן לָרִיב וּמִצָּה תִּצּוּמוֹ וּלְהִכּוֹת בְּאַגְרֵף רָשָׁע
לֹא־תִצּוּמוֹ כִּי־יִם לְהִשְׁמִיעַ בְּמָרוֹם קוֹלָם:

Look, you fast only to quarrel and to fight
and to strike with a wicked fist.
Such fasting as you do today
will not make your voice heard on high.

CONTEXT: The text describes a situation in which the people seem to observe the rules of God (58.7), but they are not fully committed to him. They serve their own interest and oppress their workers. This behaviour is compared to a *wicked fist*. In other words, the aim is to hurt others. It may well be that this intended literally, but given the fact that